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THE
GREAT CASE
OF
TITHES

Truly Stated, Clearly Open'd,
And fully Resolv'd,

By ANTHONY PEARSON, *formerly a Justice of
Peace in WESTMORLAND.*

With an APPENDIX thereto.

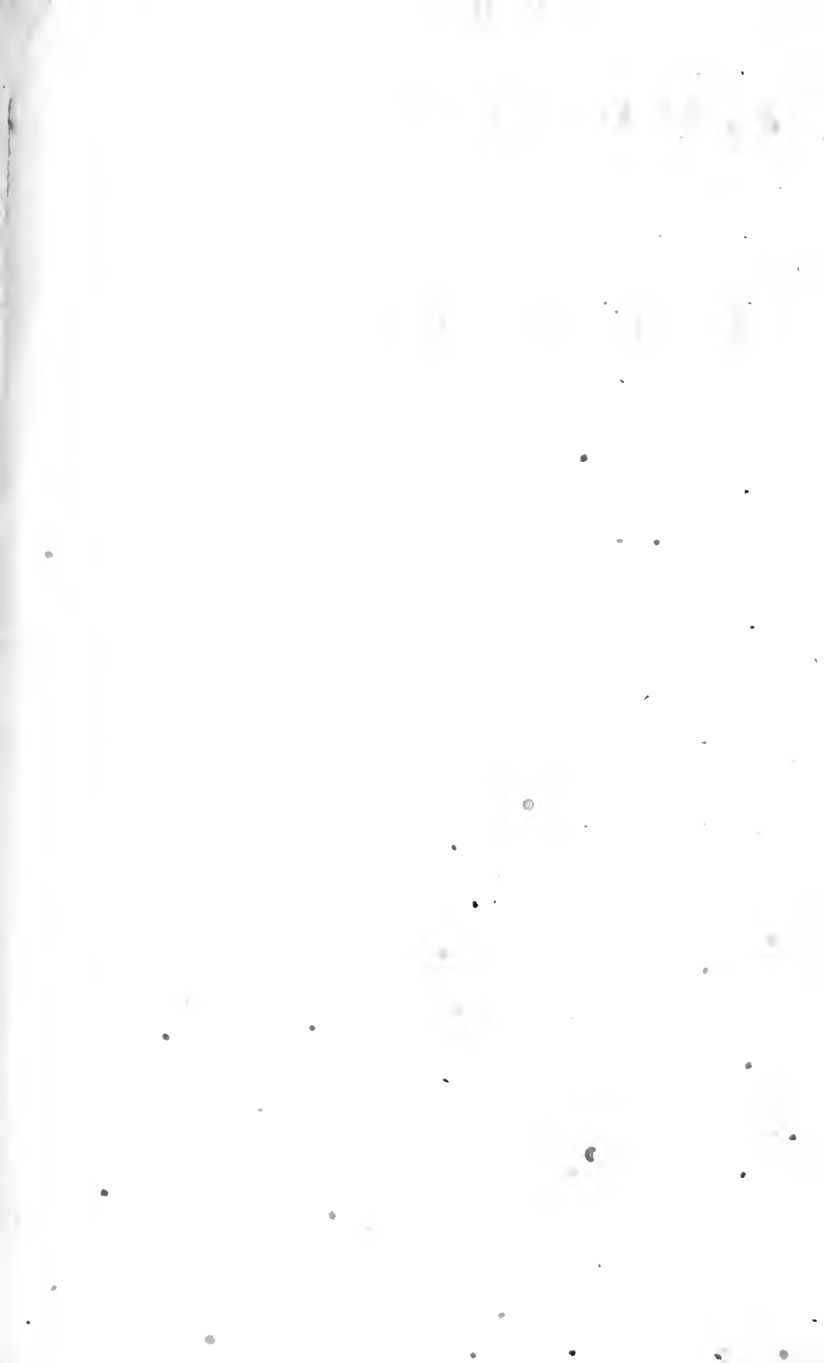
To which is added,
A DEFENCE of some other Principles held
by the People call'd QUAKERS, in which
they differ from other Religious Denomi-
nations.

The Arguments for these are supported by Scrip-
ture, and the concurring Sentiments of Ancient
and Modern AUTHORS.

By J. M.

L O N D O N:

Printed and Sold by the *Affigns* of J. SOWLE, at
the Bible in George-Yard, Lombard-Street, 1730.



THE PREFACE.

THE Great Case of Tithes, by Anthony Pearson, having been long out of Print, and now Reprinted, we thought it might not be improper to give the Reader some Account of the Author, and the Circumstances which occasion'd the writing of it.

Anthony Pearson was a Justice of Peace in Westmorland. He publish'd his Treatise of Tithes in the Year 1657, which was so well receiv'd by the Publick, that in about Two Years it pass'd Three Editions.

The Cry of Oppression being great from divers Parts of the Nation, because of the severe Prosecutions for Tithes, the Author was excited to write on that Head, in Compassion to the Sufferers; and to remove, if possible, by Reason and sound Argument, the Yoke and Burthen of Tithes from off the Laborious Husbandman, and, otherwise, a Free People.

*The Parliament had, some Years before, reliev'd the Subject, from the Power and Jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, to which Prosecutions for Tithes were limited by an Act made in the Thirty second Year of Henry the Eighth; but the People did not long enjoy the Benefit of that Relief: For some, who styl'd themselves Ministers of the Gospel, got an Ordinance of Parliament for the Ordination of Ministers, pro Tempore, Dated October the second 1644. And another for Tithes, Dated November the eighth following. Upon this they fell to prosecuting such as refus'd to pay them Tithes, in the Courts at Westminster, and petty Courts in the Country, and the Severity of their Prosecutions was so great, that the Author has taken particular Notice of it, and set forth some of their cruel Exactions.**

*See p. 44.

After he has given an Extract, or short History of Tithes, from the first Appointment of them under the Law, taken mostly from the History of Tithes by the Learned Antiquary J. Selden, he then considers the several Claims made to them. As first, By Divine Right. Secondly, By the Gifts of Kings and Princes. Thirdly, By the Laws of Kings and Parliaments. Fourthly, By Particular Gifts; Appropriation, Consecration and Donation of the Owners of the Land. Fifthly, By Prescription and Legal Possession. Sixthly, By Purchase. The Arguments advanced for each
of

THE PREFACE.

v

of these Claims, are particularly answer'd; and, the Author says, he labour'd diligently for Two Years and more, to inform himself fully what could be alledg'd for them.*

* page 31

But observing, that he is not so full in his Answers to the Arguments for the Divine Right as he might have been, giving, we think, this as a Reason for it, “*Tho’ Divine * Right, says he, hath been long pretended, “few are now left who will only stand “to it, and the generality, both of Lawyers, “Priests and People, are of a contrary Mind,” we have collected and put together in an Appendix, such Arguments as we found advanced against the Divine Right of Tithes, in Pieces publish’d either some Years before, or presently after, this Author’s; by which the Reader may judge, whether any of them could have that Force upon the Generality of Lawyers, Priests and People, as to make them of a contrary Mind. And we thought such a Collection might have this farther Service, that in Time to come, it might prevent Authors from advancing Reasons and Arguments for the Divine Right of Tithes, as some have done very lately, which werè fully answer’d and confuted so long ago.

* page 32

In this Appendix, we have also given a short Account how the Author came to embrace the Principles of the People call’d Quakers,
and

and in what Manner some of the First of them appear'd, and publish'd their Doctrine and Principles in this Nation, and the Opposition they met with from the Teachers of those Times, for preaching against Tithes and Hireling Ministers.

* See pa.
126.

*These Teachers represented the Principles of the Quakers as destructive to the Gospel, and inconsistent with Peace and Civil Society; we have therefore given the * Answers they then made to that Charge, and have subjoin'd a Defence of some Principles held by them, in which they differ from other Religious Denominations: The Arguments for these are supported by Scripture, and the concurring Sentiments of Ancient and Modern Authors.*

THE

T H E
Author's Preface
 T O T H E
Great Case of T Y T H E S.

*To the Country-men, Farmers, and
 Husbandmen of England.*

IT is for your Sakes that this small Treatise is sent abroad, that in a matter wherein you are so much concern'd, you might be truly informed : And because there are many differing Opinions, and of late Years have been great Disputes, concerning the Right of Tythes, which makes the Case seem difficult to be resolved, I have given you the Substance of all that ever I could find written, or hear discoursed, touching that Point ; and for more than Two Years last past, I have made much Enquiry into it ; and if there be any who have something to say for them, which is not herein touched, or in some general
 Head

Head comprehended, it shall be acceptable to me to receive it.

The Method of the Discourse.

First, *I have begun with Tything amongst the Jews, which, either in Precept or Example, is the Foundation for all others.*

Secondly, *I have given you a short View of the Doctrines, Opinions, Decrees and Practices of the Primitive Church concerning them, and from thence downward until this Day, which is enough to clear the whole Point.*

Thirdly, *Out of which, having made some short Observations, I state the Case as it concerns us in England.*

Fourthly, *And then bearing what every one hath to say for them, and giving them particular Answers :*

Fifthly, *I proceed to satisfie some great Objections, and so conclude the whole, in as much Brevity as the Variety of the Subject would permit.*

A. P.

T H E
G R E A T C A S E
O F
T Y T H E S, &c.

Of TYTHING amongst the J E W S.

GOD having chosen *Aaron* and his Sons for the Office of the Priesthood, and the rest of the Tribe of *Levi* for the Service of the Tabernacle, he gave unto the *Levites* all the Tenth in *Israel* for an Inheritance for their Service, and they were to have no Inheritance among the Children of *Israel*.

AND the *Levites* out of their Tythe, were to offer up an Heave-Offering of it for the Lord, even the tenth Part of the Tythe, and give it unto *Aaron* the Priest for himself and his Sons ; and no other Portion had the Priests out of the Tythes, but they were for the *Levites* that did the common Services of the Tabernacle, for the Strangers, for the Fatherless and the Widows.

BESIDES the tenth of the Tythe, the Priests had the first ripe Fruits of the Ground, of Wheat, of Barley, of Figs, of Grapes, of O- *Deut. 18.4*
lives, of Pomgranates and Dates, at what
B Quantity

Quantity the Owner pleased ; a Heave-Offering also of Corn, Wine, Oyl, Fleece, and the like were given to the Priests at the sixtieth Part, sometimes at the fiftieth or more, at the Devotion of the Owner.

OF Cattle also the First-born were the Lords, paid to the Priests, of clean Beasts in kind, of Unclean in Money, with a fifth Part added : Also divers Parts of the Sacrifices were appointed for the Priests.

BUT no Tythes did the Priests receive of the People ; for those belonged to the *Levites* that were appointed over the Tabernacle, and the Instruments thereof, to bear it, to take it down and set it up, to serve *Aaron* and his Sons, and to do the Services of the Tabernacle, and keep the Instruments thereof ; and their Service chiefly was upon removing of the Host ; for better ordering whereof, and every ones Service ; they were divided into three Parts, the *Koathbites*, the *Gershonites* and the *Merarites*, and these received Tythes of the People, and out of them a tenth Part they delivered to the Priests.

AFTERWARDS, when *Solomon* had builded a Temple, and placed the Ark therein, other Offices were appointed for the *Levites* ; one Part of them were to be Singers ; another to be Porters, and take the Charge of the Gates of the Temple ; another to be Keepers of the Treasury : others of them also were placed abroad in the Country, on the West Side of *Jordan* one Thousand seven Hundred, and on the East Side two Thousand seven Hundred.

By this Time also the Posterity of *Aaron* being much increased, the Priests were divided into twenty four Ranks or Courses, according to the

the Names of their Families, and every ones Attendance was required by Turns ; and hereupon *Zacharias* is said to be of the Course of *Abiab*, and to execute the Priests Office, and burn Incense as his Turn came, *Luk. i.* and the first of the first Rank had the Pre-eminence and was the High-Priest, and so every one according to their Precedency were preferred.

THE *Levites*, that were Singers, were divided as the Priests into twenty four Ranks or Courses ; the Porters into five Parts, one Part to every of the four Gates of the Temple, and the fifth to *Asuphim*, i. e. the Council-House.

THE Treasury was generally committed to one, as the chief, but under him to two Sorts of other Officers ; one to keep the Treasures of the House of the Lord, and those Things that were offered to the Lord ; and the other to keep the dedicate Things : In these Treasuries were put the second Tythes, the Offerings of all sorts of People, which were for the Uses and Services of the Temple, for the Fatherless, the Stranger and the Widow.

AFTER the Captivity, and new Dedication of the Temple, it appears, that in many particulars, their Laws, Ordinances and Customs, were very much changed, especially in this of Tything : But not being much pertinent to this Discourse, I shall pass them over ; only from these short Hints, let the Reader understand, that though the Priests and *Levites* were both of the Tribe of *Levi*, yet was the Priesthood settled in the Sons of *Aaron*, and the Offices of the Priests were quite different from the *Levites*, and so was their Maintenance distinct, as before is herein plainly shewed.

THESE Priests and *Levites* being separated for the Work of the Lord, in the Tabernacle and in the Temple they ministred according to the Ordinances of the first Covenant, which were Figures for the Time then present, and Shadows of good Things to come.

A View of the Doctrines, Decrees and Practices of TYTHING, from the Infancy of the Christian Church until this Day.

BUT in the Fulness of Time, God raised up another Priest, Christ Jesus, who was not of the Tribe of *Levi*, nor consecrated after the Order of *Aaron*; for he pertained to another Tribe, of which no Man gave Attendance at the Altar, who (having obtained a more excellent Ministry, of a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not of the former Building, being the Sum and Substance of all the Patterns of Things under the first Covenant) put an End to the first Priesthood, with all its Shadows, Figures and carnal Ordinances, and changing the Priesthood, which had a Command to take *Tythes* of their Brethren, there was made of Necessity also a Change of the Law, and a disannulling of the Commandment going before, which was but imposed until the Time of Reformation.

AND the Apostles and Ministers of *Christ Jesus*, when he had finished his Office upon Earth, by offering up himself through the eternal Spirit, a Sacrifice without Spot unto God, did not look back to the Ordinances of the former

former *Priesthood*, but testified an End was put unto them ; and witnessed against the Temple, wherein the Priests ministred, for which *Stephen* was stoned to death; against Circumcision, saying, *It was not that of the Flesh* ; against the Passover, Priests, &c. and preached up *Christ Jesus* and his Doctrine, the new and living Way, which was not made manifest while as the first Tabernacle was standing. Nor did they go about to establish the Law by which *Tythes* were given in the former *Priesthood*, but freely they preached the Gospel which they had received, and did not require any settled Maintenance, but lived of the free Offerings and Contributions of the Saints, who by their Ministry were turned to *Christ Jesus*.

AT *Jerusalem* and thereabouts, such was the Unity of Heart amongst the Saints in the Apostles Time, that all Things were in common, *Acts 4, 34* and none wanted ; and as many as were Possessors of Lands or Houses, sold them, and brought the Price and laid it down at the Apostles Feet, and it was distributed unto every Man according as he had Need.

So the Church gathered by * *Mark* at *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, followed the same Rule as the Saints did at *Jerusalem*, having all Things in common : And *Philo Judæus* a famous Author of that Time reporteth, that not only there, but in many other Provinces, the *Christians* lived together in Societies.

IN the Churches at *Antioch*, the Saints possessed every Man his own Estate ; so likewise *Acts 11, 29*

B 3

in

* Hieron. in vitâ Marc.

in *Galatia* and *Corinth*, where the Apostle ordained, that Weekly-Offerings for the Saints should be made by every one as God had blessed him; and by these Offerings (which were put into the Hands of the Deacons of the Churches) were all the Services and Needs of the Church supplied.

*By Example of these, the Course of Monthly Offerings succeeded in the next Ages, not exacted, but freely given at the Bounty of every Man, as appears plainly by *Tertullian* in *Apolog.* ch. 39. where, upbraiding the Gentiles with the Piety and Devotion of Christians, he saith, *Whatsoever we have in the Treasury of our Churches, is not raised by Taxation, as though we put Men to ransom their Religion, but every Man once a Month, or when it pleaseth himself, bestoweth what he thinks good, and not without he listeth; for no Man is compelled, but left free to his own Discretion: and that which is given is not bestowed in Vanity, but in relieving the Poor, and upon Children destitute of Parents, and Maintenance of aged and feeble Persons, Men wrecked by Sea, and such as are condemned to the Metal-Mines, banished into Islands, or cast into Prison, professing the true God and the Christian Faith.*

AND this Way of Contribution continued in the Church, till the great Persecution under *Maximinian* and *Dioclesian*, about the Year 304, as † *Eusebius* testifieth, which also appears by the Writings of *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, and others.

ABOUT this Time also, some Lands began to be given to the Church, and the Revenue of them

* Vide Synod. Gangr. Can. 60. † *Euseb. lib. 4. ch. 22*

them was brought into the Treasury of the Church, and belonged to the Church in common, and was distributed as other Offerings, by the Deacons and Elders ; but the Bishops or Ministers meddled not therewith : for * *Oregon* saith, *It is not lawful for any Minister of the Church to possess Lands (given to the Church) to his own Use ; And called to the Ministers, Let us depart from the Priests of PHAROAH, who enjoy earthly Possessions, to the Priests of the LORD, who have no Portion in the Earth.* And in another Place he saith, *It becometh us to be faithful in disposing the Rents of the Church, that we our selves devour not those Things which belong to the Widows and the Poor, and let us be content with simple Diet and necessary Apparel.* And † *Urban* Bishop of Rome, Anno 227, did declare, *That the Church might receive Lands and Possessions offered by the Faithful, but not to any particular Man's Benefit, but that the Revenues thereof, should be distributed as other Offerings, as Need required.*

† *CYPRIAN* Bishop of Carthage, about the Year 250, also testifieth the same, and sheweth, that the Church maintained many Poor, and that her own Diet was sparing and plain, and all her Expences full of Frugality.

** *PROSPER* also saith, that a Minister able to live of himself, ought not to participate of the Goods of the Church ; for saith he, *They that have of their own, and yet desire to have some-*

B 4

what

* 16 Homily upon Genesis, fol. 26. ch. 3. † *Urban* 1. in Epist. c. 12. q. 1. c. 161. † *Cyprian* Epist. 27, 34, 36. ** *Lib. 21. de vita contemplativa.*

what given them, do not receive it without great Sin.

* THE Council at *Antioch*, Anno 340, (finding that much Fault had been among the Deacons, to whom it properly belonged) did ordain, that the Bishops might distribute the Goods of the Church, but required that they took not any Part to themselves, or to the Use of the Priests and Brethren that lived with them, unless that Necessity did justly require it, using the Words of the Apostle, *Having Food and Raiment, be therewith content.*

IN these Times, in many Places, the Christian Converts joyned themselves in Societies, and chose a separate Life, selling what they had, and living together in common, after the Example of the former Saints about *Jerusalem*, as † *Chrysostom* notes, who lived about the Year 400, by whose Writings it also appears, that there was not the least Use or Practice of the Payment of Tythes in those former Ages.

THE Church now living altogether by free Offerings of Lands, Money and Goods, the People were much pressed to bountiful Contributions for holy Uses, as may be seen by the Writings of ** *Hierom* and *Chrysostom*, who brought the Jewish Liberality in their Payments of Tents, for an Example, beneath which they would not have Christians determine their Charity; where *Chrysostom* says, he speaks these Things not as commanding or forbidding that they should give more, yet as thinking it fit that they should not give less than the tenth

Part

* Con. Ant. cap. 25. † Hom. 11. in Acta Tom. 6. edit. Saviliana, pag. 897. ** Homil. 43. ad Epist. 1. ad Corinth, in cap 16.

Part. * *Hierom* also doth earnestly admonish them to give bountifully to the Poor, and double Honour to him that labours in the Lord's Work; not binding at all to offer this or that Part, leaving them to their own Liberty, but pressing they might not be more short than the *Jews* were.

* *AMBROSE* who was Bishop of *Milan*, about the Year 400, preached up Tenth's to be offered up for holy Uses, (as the Phrase then was) as may be seen in his Sermon of Repentance; but his Authority he produceth wholly from *Moses's* Writings, and quotes divers Sentences, and threatens the People, that if they would not pay their Tenth's, God would reduce them to a Tenth.

In like manner ** *Augustin* Bishop of *Hippo*, hath a whole Homily for the Right of Tythes, who calls upon those that have no Fruits of the Earth, to pay the Tenth of whatsoever they live by; and saith, the Neglect of Payment of Tythes is the Cause of Sterility and Blasting; and agrees with *Ambrose* in his Threats, That God would reduce them to a Tenth; and tells them,
' that

** Ad cap. 3. *Malachiæ*. * Tom. 5. Sermon. fer. 2. post dom. 1. quadragesima, & vide Sermon. in Ascens. Domini. ** In Sermon. de temp. in Tom. 10. Hæc est (saith he) Domini justissima consuetudo, ut si tu illi decimam non dederis, tu ad decimam revoceris.

And afterwards with much Earnestness, Decimæ ex debito requiruntur, & qui eas dare noluerit, res alienas invasit; & quanti pauperes in locis ubi ipse habitat, illo decimas non dante, fame mortui fuerint, tantorum homicidiorum reus ante Tribunal æterni judicis apparebit, quia a Domino pauperibus delegatum suis usibus reservavit. Qui ergo sibi aut præmium comparare, aut Peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, reddat decimam.

‘ that not paying their Tythes, they shall be
 ‘ found guilty at God’s Tribunal, of the Death
 ‘ of all the Poor that perish through Want, in
 ‘ the Places where they dwell ; and bids them
 ‘ that would either get Reward, or desire the
 ‘ Pardon of their Sins, to pay their Tythes.
 These two great Bishops agree, and from the
 Law given to the *Israelites*, take their whole
 Doctrine, and impose their own Opinion with
 so heavy Penalties : But yet take Notice to
 what End they required them, That the Poor
 might not want, and say, that God hath re-
 served them for their Uie.

LEO (called the great) who was Pope from
 440 to 460, was likewise very earnest and large
 in stirring up every Man’s Devotion to offer to
 the Church part of his received Fruits, but
 speaks not a Word of any certain Quantity, as
 may appear by his Sermons *De jejunio decimi-
 mensis & Eleemosynis*.

SEVERIN also, about the Year 470, stirred
 up the Christians in *Pannonia*, who in Example
 of his Bounty, gave the Tenth of their Fruits
 to the Poor.

* GREGORY not only admonisheth the Pay-
 ment of Tythes from *Moses* Law, but also the
 observing the Time of *Lent*, consisting of six
 Weeks, out of which take the *Sundays*, and
 there remains thirty six Days, the tenth Part
 of the Year, Fractions of Days omitted ; this
 Tenth of Time he would have given to God,
 saying, *We are commanded in the Law to give the
 Tenth of all Things unto God.*

AND

* Hom. 16 in Evang. & dist. 5. de consecrat. c. 16. Ut
 in Lege jubemur Domino decimam rerum dare.

AND from the Opinions of these and other ancient Fathers, who took their Ground from the Law, Tythes, Easter, Pentecost, and other Things, came to be introduced and brought into the Church.

* BUT notwithstanding the Doctrine and hard Threats of some of the great Bishops of that Time, it was not a generally received Doctrine, that Tythes ought to be paid, nor till about the Year 800 was any Thing by the then Church determined or ordained, touching the Quantity that should be given, though (no doubt) in many Places, amongst the Offerings of the devouter Sort, Tenths, or greater Parts of their Annual Increase were given, according to the Doctrine of *Ambrose*, and others.

** THE Offerings of the Church in those Ages were received and disposed of in Maintenance of the Priests, and Relief of those that were distressed; neither had the Priests such a particular Interest in the Profits received, as of late Time they have usurped; all that was received, wheresoever in the Bishoprick, was as a common Treasury, and was dispensed, one fourth Part to the Priests, out of which every one had his Portion; another fourth Part to the Relief of the Poor, Sick and Strangers; a third to the building and repairing of Places for publick Meetings, called Churches; and the fourth to the Bishop. And generally then, the Bishop lived

* As is testified by *Agobard* Bish. of *Lyons*, a highly esteemed Man, in his Treatise *De dispensatione, &c. contra Sacrilegos*, pag. 276. ** Be not offended at the word *Priest*, no other can be given to this Age; for the Title, as then 'twas given to them, so it was owned by them.

lived in some Monastery, and his Clergy with him, from whence he sent them out to preach within the Countries in his Dioceſs, and there they received ſuch Offerings as were made, and brought them to the Treafury.

AND though divers of the Fathers, Popes and Biſhops, did declare that Tythes were due, and ought to be paid ; none of the firſt eight general Councils of the * Church did ever ſo much as mention the Name of Tythes, or declare them a Duty. The ninth held at *Late-ran*, under Pope *Calixtus* the ſecond, about the Year 1119, mentions Tythes, but ſpeaks only of thoſe which had been given to the Church by ſpecial Conſecration ; ſo doth alſo the Council held under P. *Alexander* the third, *An.* 1180, but that only inhibits Appropriations to Religious Houſes, without Aſſent of a Biſhop ; for at that Time, People being led to believe that their Tythes ought to be given for the Uſe of the Poor, did chiefly diſpoſe them to the Heads and Governours of Religious Houſes, who kept open Hoſpitality for the Poor, and Entertain-ment of Strangers, and were eſteemed holy, as good Treafurers for the needy, who took care of Diſtribution of them, as is teſtified by *Cassi-an* the Hermit. But that Council ſeeing much given to the Poor, little to the Priests, made that Decree to reſtrain the People's Freedom ; and indeed, by this Time, much Wickedneſs was crept into theſe Houſes, as Hiſtories relate.

NOR was any Law, Canon, or Conſtitution of any general Council as yet found, that purpoſely

* I call it Church, becauſe it was then ſo eſteemed ; I muſt uſe ſuch Words as may give the Reader a Knowledge of what I ſay.

posely commanded the Payment of Tythes, nor any that expressly supposed them a Duty of common right, before the Council of *Lateran*, held in the Year 1215, under Pope *Innocent* the third; about which Time the Popes Authority was grown powerful, and the Canons more received into Practice, that before were little, especially herein, obeyed.

† ABOUT the Years 800, 900, 1000, and after, Tythes were called the *Lord's Goods*, the *Patrimony of the Poor*, &c. Whence also the Council at *Nants* * declared, the Clergy were not to use them as their own, but as commended to their Trust; and they were not then given for the Clergy, but to be disposed of for the Uses of the Poor.

AND at this Time, no Regard was had to the Nature of the Increase; but whatsoever did arise in Profit, whether by Trade, Merchandize, or Husbandry, the Tenth was required to be paid for Tythes.

BUT still the People had more Mind to give them for the Poor than the Priests, as may be understood by the Complaint of † Pope *Innocent* the third, who cried out against those that gave their Tythes and first Fruits to the Poor, and not to the Priests, as heinous Offenders; his own Words take in the Margin.

ALSO

† *Res dominicæ, dominica substantia, Dei census, Patrimonia pauperum, tributa egentium animarum, stipendia pauperum, hospitum Peregrinorum.*

* Non quasi suis, sed quasi commendatis, non ab hominibus, sed ab ipso Deo sunt institutæ.

† *He preaching on Zacheus's Charity, says, Dedit proprium, & reddidit alienum. Graviter ergo peccant qui decimas & primitias non reddunt Sacerdotibus, sed eas pro voluntate distribuunt indigentibus.*

ALSO, in a general *Council held at *Lyons* under Pope *Gregory* the tenth, in the Year 1274, it was constituted, that it should not thenceforth be lawful for Men to give their Tythes of their own Pleasure, where they would, as it had been before, but pay all their Tythes to the *Mother-Church*. By these it may be seen, that though the People, who then generally were *Papists*, did believe they ought to pay them, yet were they free to dispose them where they pleased, till these *Popish Councils* restrained their Liberty.

BUT the great Decree which speaks most plain, and till which, nothing was given forth which did directly constitute them, but rather still supposed them as due by some former Right, was made at the † *Council of Trent*, under Pope *Pius* the fourth, about the Year 1560. And yet that great Council followed the Doctrine of their Father, and said they were due to God, and had no new Authority for their great Decree, which they command to be obeyed under the Penalty of Excommunication.

HAVING

* Ut nulli hominum deinceps liceat decimas suas ad libitum ut antea ubi vellet assignare, sed Matrīci Ecclesiæ omnes decimas persolverent.

† Non sunt ferendi qui variis artibus decimas Ecclesiis obvenientes subtrahere moliantur, aut qui ab aliis solvas vendas temere occupant, & in rem suam vertunt, cum decimarum solutio debita sit Deo, & qui eas dare noluerint, aut dantes impediunt, res alienas invadunt: Præcipit igitur sancta Synodus, omnibus cujuscunq; gradus & conditionis sint, ad quos decimarum solutio spectat, ut eas (ad quas de jure tenentur) in posterum Cathedrali aut quibuscunq; aliis Ecclesiis vel personis, quibus legitime debentur, integre persolvant: Qui vero eas aut subtrahunt, aut impediunt, Excommunicentur: Nec ab hoc crimine, nisi plena restitutione secuta absolvantur.

HAVING thus briefly run over the Ecclesiastical State abroad, from the Infant-Purity of the Church, to the Height of the *Papal* Domination, and given a small Glimpse through every Age to the Point in Hand ; I shall now more particularly return to what may concern this Nation.

I shall not trouble the Reader with a Relation of *Joseph of Arimathea*, and his eleven Disciples coming into *Britain*, sent by *Philip* the Apostle, in the Reign of *Arviragus*, as Histories report ; nor of the Conversion of King *Lucius* afterwards, who is said to give great Endowments to the Church ; nor of the *British Christians* : Nothing at all appearing of the Payment of Tythes in their Days : But passing by them, and those many Years, wherein the barbarous *Saxons* over-ran this Nation, exercising most cruel Persecutions, till the very Name of *Christian* was blotted out, and those Heathens seated in the quiet Possession of a sevenfold Kingdom in this Land.

ABOUT the Year 600, or soon after, *Gregory* the first, then Pope of *Rome*, sent over *Augustine* the Monk into *England*, by whom *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* was converted ; and by him and his Followers, in process of Time, other Parts of the Nation, and others of the Kings, were also brought to their Faith. This *Augustin* was a *Canon Regular*, and both he and his Clergy, for long Time after, followed the Example of former Ages, living in common upon the Offerings of their *Converts* ; and those that received them, were joyned in Societies, in Imitation of the primitive Practice, having such Direction sent him by Pope *Gregory*, that in the
Tenderneſs

Tenderneſs of the *Saxon-Church*, he and his Clergy ſhould ſtill imitate the Community of all Things uſed in the primitive Times under the Apoſtles; that they might not make their Religion burthenſom.

BUT afterwards, having brought a great Part of the Nation to their Faith, they began to preach up the old *Roman Doctrin*e, that Tythes ought to be paid; and having taught the People, that the Pardon of Sin might be merited by good Works, and the Torments of Hell be avoided by their charitable Deeds, it was no hard Matter, when that was believed, to perſwade them not only to give their Tythes, but alſo their Lands, as the outward Riches of thoſe called Religious Houſes then, here and elſewhere, may teſtifie; for in this Nation, they and the Clergy had almoſt gotten the third part of the whole Land; and ſo beſotted were the poor ignorant People, that, had not a Law againſt *Mortmain* prevented it, a far greater Part of the Nation had been in their Hands.

As concerning Laws and Canons for Tythes among the *Saxons*, it is reported, that in the Year 786, two Legates were ſent from Pope *Hadrian* the firſt, to *Offa* King of *Mercland*, and *Ælfwolfe* King of *Northumberland*, who made a Decree, that the People of thoſe two Kingdoms ſhould pay Tythes.

ALSO that *Æthelulph* King of the *Weſt Saxons*, in the Year 855, made a Law, that the Tythe of all his own Lands ſhould be given to God and his Servants, and ſhould be enjoyed free from all Taxes. Great Difference is amongſt Hiſtorians about this Grant, few agreeing in the Words or Subſtance of it, as *Selden* ſhews,
ſome

some restraining it to the Tythe of his own Demefne Lands; others to the Tenth Part of his Lands; others to the Tythe of the whole Nation. At that Time the Nation being under great and heavy Preffures by *Danish* Irruptions, intestine Wars, great Spoils and Miferies; he called a Council, where were present, *Bernredus* King of * *Mercia*, and *Edmond* King of *East-Angles*, and they, to remove the heavy Judgments then over them, grant the Tythe of all their Land to God and his Servants.

KING *Athelstone*, about the Year 930, King *Edmond*, about the Year 940, King *Edgar*, about the Year 970, King *Ethelred*, about the Year 1010, King *Knute*, about the Year 1020, *Edward the Confessor*, and others of the *Saxon* Kings, made feveral Laws for Tythes as Histories report.

THE *Normans* afterwards entring this Kingdom, and fubduing it to themfelves, *William the Conqueror* confirmed the Liberties of the Church; fo did *H. the first*, *H. 2. King Stephen*, and it may be, others of the fucceeding Kings did the like.

SOME Epifcopal Conftitutions alfo have been made to the fame Effect by *Robert Winchelfey*, Arch-Bifhop of *Canterbury*, and others.

THAT the Reader may underftand the Principles, upon which thefe Men acted, and the Doctrine then preached amongft them, and received and believed, I have inferted in the Margin the † Preamble of a Grant of *K. Stephens*.

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BUT

* Pro meæ remedio animæ & Regni & populi.

† Quoniam Divinâ Mifericordia providente cognovimus eſſe diſpoſitum, & longe lateq; prædicante Eccleſia, ſonat omnium auribus divulgatum. Quod, Eleemoſynarum largitione poſſunt abſolvi vincula peccatorum, & acquiri cœleſtium præmia gaudiorum: Ego *Stephonus* Dei gratia *Anglorum* Rex, partem habere volens cum illis qui felici commercio Cœleſtia pro terrenis Commutant, Dei amore compunctus

* For the Cure of my own Soul, of my Kingdome and People.

BUT notwithstanding the many Laws, Canons and Decrees, of Kings, Popes, Councils and Bishops, that every Man ought to pay the tenth Part of his Increase, yet was it left to the Owner, to confer it where he pleased, which made so many rich Abbies and Monasteries; and till the Year 1200 or thereabouts, every one gave their Tythes at their own Pleasure, which made Pope *Innocent** the third send his Decretal Epistle to the Bishop of

et pro salute animæ meæ & Patris mei Matrisq; meæ, & omnium Parentum meorum, & antecessorum, &c.

The Preamble of King Stephen's Grant.

Because through the Providence of divine Mercy, we know it to be so ordered, and by the Churches publishing it far and near, every Body has heard, that by the Distribution of Alms, Persons may be absolv'd from the Bonds of Sin, and acquire the Rewards of heavenly Joys. I Stephen, by the Grace of God, King of England, being willing to have a Part with them, who by a happy kind of Trading exchange heavenly Things for earthly; and smitten with the Love of God, and for the Salvation of my own Soul, and the Souls of my Father and Mother, and all my Forefathers and Ancestors, &c. And so he goes on and confirms divers Things that divers had granted to the Church, as Tythes and other Things.

* *Pervenit ad audientiam nostram, quod multi in Diocesi tuâ, decimas suas integras vel duas partes ipsarum non illis Ecclesiis in quarum parochiis habitant, vel ubi prædia habent, & à quibus Ecclesiastica præcipiunt Sacramenta, persolvunt, sed eas aliis, pro suâ distribuunt voluntate: Cum igitur inconveniens esse videatur & à ratione dissimile, ut Ecclesiæ quæ spiritualia seminant, metere non debeant a suis parochianis temporalia & habere, fraternitati tuæ Autoritate præsentium indulgemus, ut liceat tibi super hoc, non obstante contradictione vel appellatione cujuscunque, seu consuetudine hætenus observatâ, quod Canonicum fuerit ordinare & facere, & quod Statueris per censuram Ecclesiasticam firmiter obligare. Nulli ergo, &c. Confirmationis, &c. Datum Lateran. 2. Nonas Julii.*

The Pope's Decretal Epistle to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

We having heard, that many in thy Diocess, pay the whole Tythes, or two Parts of them, not to the Churches in the Parishes they

of *Canterbury*, commanding him to enjoyn every Man, to pay his temporal Goods to those that ministred spiritual Things to them, which was enforced by Ecclesiastical Censures; and this was the first Beginning of general Parochial Payment of Tythes in *England*: I have inserted the Pope's own Words in the Margin, as they are recorded by *Cook*, in the second Part of his *Institutes*, who saith, That because the Pope's Decree seemed reasonable, it was admitted and enjoyned by the Law of the Nation, King and People being then *Papists*.

THIS Decree of the Pope, receiving all possible Assistance from the Bishops and the Priests, in whose Behalf it was made, did not only in a short Time take away the Peoples then claimed Right to give their Tythes to those that best deserved them, but did also so much corrupt the Clergy, that in the Time of *Richard* the second, *Wickliffe* our famous Reformer, did make a heavy Complaint to the Parliament, which in his own Words I have inserted for the Readers better Satisfaction: *Ab Lord God! where this be Reason to constrain the poor People to find a worldly Priest, sometimes unable both of Life and Cunning, in Pomp and Pride, covetise and envy, Gluttoness, Drunkenness, and Lechery, in simony and Heresie, with fat Horse and jolly,*

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and

they belong to, or where they have Farms, and from which they receive the Church Sacraments; but they distribute them to others according to their own Will. As therefore it seems inconvenient and contrary to Reason, that the Churches which sow spiritual Things, should not reap and receive temporal Things from their own Parishioners; We by the Authority of these presents, grant to thy Brotherhood, that it may be lawful for thee, upon this, notwithstanding any Opposition or Appeal whatever, or Custom hitherto observ'd, to ordain and do whatsoever is Canonical; and what thou shalt ordain, to bind by Ecclesiastical Censure. Let none therefore, &c. In Confirmation whereof, &c. Given at Lateran this 4th Day of July.

and gay Saddles and Bridles ringing by the Way, and himself in costly Clothes and pelure, and to suffer their Wives and Children, and their poor Neighbours perish for Hunger, Thirst and Cold, and other Mischiefs of the World: Ah Lord Jesu Christ, sith within few Years Men paid their Tythes and Offerings at their own Will, free to good Men, and able to great Worship of God, to profit and fairness of holy Church fighting in Earth, why it were lawfull and needful that a worldly Priest should destroy this holy and approved Custom, constraining Men to leave this Freedom, turning Tythes and Offerings unto wicked Uses.

THAT the Meaning of these, and the Practice of this Nation in this Matter may the better be understood, it is needful to inform the Reader, that when the Pope's Doctrine was received in a Nation, that Nation was divided into so many Bishopricks as were needful, and every Bishoprick into so many Parishes as were thought convenient, and Parishes are but of late Erection, and till then, most *Preachers* were sent out of the Monasteries, and religious (so called) Houses, and the People did at their own free Will, give their Tythes and Offerings where they pleased, which Liberty they enjoyed till about the Year 1200. And though it was generally believed that Tythes ought to be paid, yet did no Man claim any Property therein, but every Owner of the nine Parts, was required to give the tenth Part to the Priest or Poor, as due unto God.

BUT now the Pope having set up Parishes, did enjoin, that a secular Priest canonically instituted should attend the Service of each Parish; and that where Tythes were not already settled, they should be paid to the Parish Priest, notwithstanding any Custom to the contrary; the People then generally being *Papists*, did yield Obedience, as they

they durst not do otherwise ; and it may easily be supposed, that having perswaded the People to pay Tythes, it was no hard Matter to appoint the Person to whom they should be given.

PARISHES being set up, Priests appointed, and Tythes paid to them after forty Years Possession, what before was owned as the Gift, was now claimed as a Debt ; and Prescription was pleaded by the Priests as their just Title ; the People then seeing themselves in a Snare, began to contend, but the imperious *Pope* (now in a great Height of Pride and Insolence to uphold his Creature-Clergy) thundred out his Interdict against this Nation, excommunicated the King, frightened the Subjects with his Bulls stufed with Commination, and that against the very Point of arbitrary Disposal of Tythes : And *Rome*, now grown formidable, did highly insult over Kings and Princes ; witness *Frederick*, *Barbarossa*, *Hen.* the 6th, and other Princes of the Empire ; and the Stories of our *Hen.* 2. and King *John*, are obvious : And our *Rich.* the first, to gratifie the Clergy for their exceeding Liberality, in contributing to his Ransom from Captivity, with great Favour, gave them an indulgent Charter of their Liberties, and in this Advantage of Time, the Canon Laws gained such Force, that parochial-Payments came generally to be settled.

YET notwithstanding, our *English Parliaments* not willing wholly to forget the Poor, for whose Sake Tythes were chiefly given, did make divers Laws, that a convenient Portion of the Tythes should be set apart for the Maintenance of the Poor of the Parish for ever, *R.* 2. 15. 6. 4 *Hen.* 4. as the Statutes at large do witness.

THE Pope having by these Means brought in Tythes, and made a pretended Title by Prescription, set up Courts to recover them, which were

called Ecclesiastical Courts, where his own Creatures were Judges, and here the poor People might easily understand what they might expect from them; yet he that did not pay, no great Punishment could they inflict on him, but Excommunication out of their Church.

THE Pope by all means willing to favour his chiefest Props, notwithstanding his general Decree, could tell how to dispense with his own Lands at his Pleasure, and therefore frequently did grant Exemptions to divers Orders, to free them from Payment of Tythes; witness the Hospitallers, Cistercians, Templers, and generally to all Lands held in the Occupation of the called religious Persons and Houses, which is the Ground of all those Mens Claims, who have bought the Lands of dissolved Monasteries, &c. and say they are Tythe-free.

WHEN the Pope by colour of the *Jewish-Laws* (by which Tythes were given to the *Levitical Priesthood*) had gained an universal Payment of Tythes to all his Clergy, in farther Imitation of that earthly Tabernacle, he sets up a new Building after the former Pattern, and therefore to himself he claims first-Fruits and Tenth, as a Successor of the Jewish High Priest; Sins also he undertook to pardon; Cardinals also he appoints as Leaders of their Families; Miters they wear on their Heads, as *Aaron* did; Synagogues they build, with Singers, Porters, &c. and into the Form of the *Levitical Priesthood* they transform themselves, thereby wholly denying Christ Jesus, the End of Types and Figures, to be come in the Flesh.

AFTERWARDS, *Hen. 8.* King of *England*, being a *Papist*, and believing the Popes Doctrine, as also did his Parliament, that Tythes were due to
God

God and Holy Church ; made a Law, that every one should set out and pay his *Tythes*.

AND seeing this is the great Law, and the first of our Parliament Laws for Tythes, and that upon which the rest are grounded, I shall here insert the Preamble of it.

Forasmuch as divers Numbers of evil-disposed Persons, having no Respect to their Duties to Almighty God, but against Right and good Conscience, have attempted to substraēt and with-hold in some Places the whole, and in some Places great Part of their Tythes and Oblations, as well personal as predial, due unto God and Holy Church, &c.

A second Law in his Time was also made to the like Purpose, and in pursuance of the former ; and great Reason he had, and Need there was for them ; for having dissolved many Monasteries who had many Tythes and Rectories appropriated to them, and either had them in his own Hands, or sold them to others, to be held as Lay-possessions, and they having no Law whereby to recover them, the Popes Laws not reaching to Lay-persons (so called) he was necessitated to make new Laws to enforce the Payment of them, which the better to colour over the matter, he makes in general Terms, but still restrains the Trial of Tythes to the Ecclesiastical Courts.

AFTER him *Edw.* the sixth, in pursuance of his Fathers Laws, and upon the same Grounds, makes another Law for the Payment of *predial and personal Tythes, under Penalty of treble Damages, who also restrains the Trial to the Ecclesiastical Courts. These Laws suppose that Tythes were due to God and Holy Church, and therefore they require, that every Man do yield and set out his Tythes as had been accustomed.

* Predial Tythes are those which are paid of Things arising from the Ground only.

IN pursuance of these Laws, some Ordinances were made in the Time of the long Parliament, in the Exigences of the War, because the Courts of Justice were obstructed.

And these are the Substance of all our English-Laws concerning Tythes.

HAVING thus generally and briefly run over the Laws and Practices of Tything, both abroad and in this Nation, I shall give some Hints of the Opinions of former Times concerning Tythes. About the Year 1000 and 1200 after Christ, when Tythes were generally preached up and claimed, great Controversie did arise between the Canonists and the Clergy, by what immediate Law Tythes were payable.

THE Canonists generally ground themselves upon the Decrees and Canons of the Church, (so called) and on the Writings of *Augustin*, *Ambrorse*, and the rest of the ancient Fathers, who say they are due by divine Right.

THE Clergy of those Times were at Difference among themselves, some of them saying, that Tythes, *quoad quotam Partem*, or as it is a determined Part, is due only by positive and Ecclesiastick Law; but *quoad substantiam suam*, or as it denotes a competent Part to be allowed for the Maintenance of the Ministry, is due by divine Law; and that the tenth Part was decreed by the Church, *per vim ejus exemplarem*, or by Imitation of the *Jewish State*, and not *per vim obligativam*, or any continuing Force of it under the Gospel; and that the Church was not bound to this Part, but freely might as well have ordained the Payment of a ninth or eighth according to the various Opportunity. This was taught by *Hales*, *Aquinas*, *Henricus de Grandavo*, *R. de Media villa*, *Cardinal Cajetan*,

Cajetan, Io. Mayer, Suarez, Malder, and others, who say it is the common Opinion of the greatest Part of the Clergy of that Time, and that the tenth Part was rather ceremonial than moral.

HERE also was made a Distinction, and many said, that predial and mixt Tythes were due by the divine Ecclesiastick Law ; but personal Tythes only by the Decrees of the Church ; but *Hales* said, that Tythes, as well personal as predial, are in the Precept *Quoad substantiam*, but neither *Quoad quotam* ; and therefore in *Venice* and other Cities, where no predial Tythes are, a personal Tythe is required by the positive Law of the Church, by Virtue of the Substance (not ceremony) of the Command.

ANOTHER Opinion (and that owned by many) was drawn from the former Doctrine, which concluded, that seeing Tythes, as the *quota pars*, were not enjoined by the Command of God, therefore they were meer Alms, or as what, *debito Charitatis*, not *debito justitiæ*, was to be dispensed. Of this Opinion were the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who both began about the Year 1210, and by their Doctrine got many Tythes to be given to their Monasteries, and that whatsoever was given to the four Orders of *Mendicant Friars*, was a sufficient Discharge from the Priest.

AND our famous Reformers, *John Wickliffe*, *Walter Brute*, *Will. Thorp*, and others, whose Arguments are at large in *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, did in their Days bear their Testimony against Tythes, for which some of them suffered in Flames.

AGREEING herewith are the Articles of the *Bohemians*, published near three hundred Years since, wherein a divine Right to Tythes since the Gospel is denied ; whereupon also long since they
took

took all their Temporalties from their Ministers; And before *Wickliffe's* Time, *Gerardus Sagarellus* was of the same Mind. And the great *Erasmus* also said, that the common exacting of Tythes by the Clergy of his Time, was no better than Tyranny.

HAVING thus briefly run over the Doctrines, Decrees, Practices and Opinions concerning Tythes; I shall make some short Observations thereupon, that the Reader may understand whereunto they tend, and then proceed to the Matter as it concerns us at this Day, wherein he will find the Knowledge of these Things will be useful.

First, That amongst the *Jews*, Tythes were paid to the *Levites* that did the common Services of the Tabernacle and Temple, and not to the Sons of *Aaron*, the Priests; for they had only a tenth Part out of the Tythes; and therefore he that pleads for Tythes from the *Mosaical Laws* for Tything, had need consider how the Payment of Tythes to Ministers succeeds to the Payment of Tythes to the *Levites*, who were not Priests, nor were to touch or meddle with that holy Office, lest they died.

2. THAT amongst the *Jews*, no outward Law was appointed for the Recovery of Tythes, but he that did not pay them robbed God, and by him only was punished.

3. THAT the Tythes were not for the *Levites* only, but for the Stranger, the Fatherless, and the Widow, who were to eat thereof, and be satisfied.

4 THAT when the *Levitical Priesthood* was changed by the Coming of Christ Jesus, the Law for Tything was also changed, as *Paul* writ to the *Hebrews*; for it is evident, that in the Beginning of the Church, for the first three hundred Years, while the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel

Gospel was retained, no Tythes were paid among Christians.

5. THAT as the Mystery of Iniquity began to work, and Men's Imaginations were taught instead of the Doctrine of Christ, divers Men fetching their Ground from *Moses's* Writings, began to preach that Tythes again ought to be paid.,

6. THAT those that first preached up Tythes, pressed the Payment of them, not for the Maintenance of a Ministry only, but chiefly for Provision for the Poor and Needy.

7. THAT in the first Practice of the Payment of Tythes, they were not paid as Tythes, but as free Offerings, at the Bounty of the Giver, and not as answering any Law that required the tenth Part, and so more properly were called Offerings than Tythes.

8. THAT notwithstanding any Doctrines preached, it was not a received Doctrine, that Tythes ought to be paid, till about the Year 1000, that the Pope had set up his Authority, and usurped Dominion over the greatest Part of *Europe*, and almost all Emperors, Kings and Princes brought in Subjection to him, and his innovated Superstitions.

9. THAT notwithstanding the strict Commands of the Pope, no outward compulsory Law was made by the Pope or his Councils, to enforce any to pay Tythes, but only their Excommunication.

10. THAT Tythes were always accounted an Ecclesiastical Duty, and therefore by Ecclesiastical Courts were tried and judged; and till the Dissolution of Abbeyes, &c. were never called a *Civil Right*.

11. THAT Tythes were brought in as a Duty owing unto God, and were so required and enforced, and therefore all Laws made for the Payment

The Great Case of Tythes, &c.

ment of Tythes, take that for their Ground, and not any civil Property or Right in him that claims them.

12. THAT till the Year 1200 or thereabouts, it was the common Practice for every one to bestow his Tythes where he pleased.

13. THAT from such arbitrary Dispositions, Abbeyes and Monasteries came to be so richly endowed with Tythes and Rectories.

14. THAT all Exemptions from Payment of Tythes came from the Pope.

15. THAT first Fruits and Tenths are but a late Innovation, and claimed by the Pope as Successor to the *Jewish High-Priest*, as *Cook* in the third Part of his *Institutes* also testifies.

16. THAT Tythes are the same Thing, whether claimed by an Abbey, or Impropiator, or a Priest, and stand upon the same Ground and Foundation, and differ nothing but in the Person that possesseth them.

17. HERE also the declining State of the Church to Corruption and Error may be clearly discerned and traced; for as the Power of Truth was lost, so was the Fruit thereof, which caused such earnest pressing to needful Contributions, and when that would not serve, Laws and Decrees were made to force them: But in the Beginning it was not so; for while the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel was retained, there needed no pressing, for their Charity then abounded not only to the tenth Part, but far greater Parts, as the Needs of the Church required.

18. THAT the Right of Tythes was never cleared, but remained in Controversie, even amongst the greatest Papists, and in all Ages there were those that withstood the Payment of them: And
many

many of the Martyrs for that, amongst other Things, suffered in Flames.

THESE Things thus premised, I shall briefly state the great Case and Question, at this Day chiefly controverted concerning Tythes, as claimed and paid in *England*.

Whether any Person have a true and legal Property in the tenth Part of another Man's Increase, now commonly called Tythes. The CASE.

THE Terms are plain, and need no opening ; yet it is needful to declare why the Case is thus stated ; for the great Question rather seems to be, *Whether Tythes be not due at this Day ?*

THAT may be due to another, wherein yet he may have no legal Property, as Custom, Tribute, Taxes, which are to be paid because commanded by the State ; and though Law and Equity obliges the Payment, yet is no distinct Property in him that commands ; and so Tythes may be supposed to be due, because so many Laws have been made for Payment of them, though the Person that claims them may have no particular Interest or Property therein, other than is derived from the Command.

BUT now in *England*, Tythes are not only claimed by virtue of divers Laws, but also as being a distinct Property, severed from the Property of the nine Parts.

AND if this could clearly be evinced, all Scruples of Conscience were answered ; for if a true and legal Property be in another Person to the tenth Part of my Increase, I ought in Conscience to yield and set it forth, because it is not mine ; and then the Name of Tythe, as having in any Measure Relation to the *Jewish Priesthood*,
or

or Popish Clergy, were at an End, but as a Debt it ought to be truly paid to the Proprietor.

MANY Things have been said, and much written, to prove such a Property, the Substance whereof, as far as hath come to my Knowledge, I shall briefly sum up under these general Heads ; as also the Grounds of those who claim them to be due, and yet plead no Property, which being the lesser, may be fully included and answered in the other.

Several Claims made for Tythes, and a legal Property therein, set down and answered.

1. **T**HE first claim Tythes to be due *jure divino*, and produce the Law of *Moses* for it.

2. OTHERS say that as to the *quota pars* (*viz.* the tenth Part) Tythes are not now due by the Law of God ; only the Equity of the Law is still of Force, which obligeth to afford a competent Maintenance for the Ministry, but doth not bind to the certain Quantity.

3. OTHERS there are, who plead the Decrees, Canons and Constitutions of General Councils, Popes, Bishops, Convocations, and these say, that Tythes are due *jure Ecclesiastico*.

UNDER these several Claims, or some of them, have Tythes been demanded and paid, since the dark Night of Apostacy overspread the Earth under the Papal Power, till the Popes Supremacy and Religion was cast off in *England* ; and where the Popish Religion is professed, they are now by the same demanded and paid.

BUT now of late in *England*, new Claims are made, and the old Pretences seem too much to favour

vour of the popish Leaven, and therefore an human Right is pleaded, which I shall briefly bring under these few Heads.

1. SOME plead the Gifts of Kings and Princes, who were Rulers of the People, as *Ethelwolph*, &c.

2. OTHERS plead the temporal Laws of Kings, Parliaments, &c.

3. OTHERS plead the particular Gifts, Appropriation, Consecration or Donation, of those who were former Owners of the Land.

4. OTHERS plead Prescription, and a legal Right by their Possession.

5. OTHERS plead a legal Right by Purchase:

AND besides these, I never heard or read of any other Pretence for Tythes, though I have diligently for two Years and more, laboured to inform myself fully what could be alledged for them.

To begin with the first, those that say Tythes are due by divine Right.

SOME of them say, *that the Law given to Israel for Payment of Tenths to the Tribe of Levi, doth also oblige Christians to pay Tenths to their Ministers, as succeeding in the Priests Office.*

Ans. To such it is clearly answered, that the *Priesthood* which had a Commandment to take Tythes, being changed by Christ Jesus, there is made of Necessity also a Change of the Law; and now the *Priesthood* is no more committed to the natural Off-spring of *Levi*, or any other Tribe, but to Christ Jesus the unchangeable *Priesthood*, whose Kingdom stands not in Figures and carnal Ordinances, but is the Substance of what that was but a Figure: And it is clear, the primitive Church were assur'd of it, who for some Hundreds of Years, and till the Mystery of Iniquity began to work, never called for the Payment of Tythes, as is before plainly proved.

AND

AND how doth a Gospel-Ministry succeed to the *Levites*. who received Tythes, but were not *Priests*? much more Colour had the *Quiristers*, Singing-men, and the rest of the Rabble brought into the late Cathedrals, to claim them, and only to pay out a tenth Part to the *Priests*, as the *Levites* did.

OTHERS say, that Abraham paid Tythes to Melchisedec, which was before the *Levitical Priesthood*; and Christ Jesus is made a Priest after the Order of Melchisedec.

ABRAHAM, returning from the Slaughter of the Kings, was met by *Melchisedec*, who brought him Bread and Wine, and *Abraham* gave him the Tenth of the Spoil: But what is this to the Payment of Tythes, unless it oblige the Soldiers? for it doth not appear that *Abraham* paid the tenth Part of his own Increase; nor doth it appear, that *Abraham* gave the tenth Part at any other Time; and how will this prove a yearly Payment of Tythes to Ministers?

AND what if *Jacob* gave Tythes? how are either of these Examples more binding than any other of the good Acts that either of these holy Men did?

Object. If it be said, that Jesus Christ said, *ye tythe mint, &c. these Things ye ought not to leave undone.*

IT'S answered, that Jesus Christ then spoke to the *Jews*, in the Time when the *Levitical Priesthood* was not ended, who were bound by the Law, so long as it was of Force, till he was offered up, and said, *It is finished.*

BUT though divine Right hath been long pretended, few are now left who will only stand to it, and the generality, both of *Lawyers*, *Priests* and *People*, are of a contrary Mind.

FOR

FOR if Tythes be absolutely due by the Law of God, no Custom, Usage, Prescription, Privilege, or popish Dispensation, can acquit from Payment of the utmost Penny of the tenth Part ; but scarce the tenth Person in *England* payeth Tythe in kind, and many plead they are Tythe-free, and pay none at all, and others very small Matters ; and so the greatest part of the People of *England* deny Tythes to be due by God's Law.

AGAIN, if Tythes be due by the Law of God, then it is to the End for which they were commanded, for the *Levites*, the *Strangers*, the *Fatherless*, and the *Widows* ; all therefore who plead for Tythes by Divine Right, must not pay them to an *Impropriator* ; for by God's Law he cannot claim, neither ought any *Impropriator* of that Mind to receive them.

AND of late Years, it was by *Rolls*, Chief Justice, adjudged in the upper Bench, *that Tythes are not now due by the Law of God.*

2: *To the next, those that plead the Equity of the Law is still of Force.*

THESE plead not for Tythes properly, but for a comfortable Maintenance, and by way of *Tythes*, as they suppose most convenient, &c. And these bring many Scriptures in the new Testament, *That he that labours is worthy of his Hire ; he that preacheth the Gospel, ought to live of the Gospel ; let him that is taught, communicate to him that teacheth ;* and the like.

AND to such I say, that not only the Equity of the *Levitical* Law for Tything, the Doctrine of Christ Jesus and his Apostles do bind, but even from natural Things we are largely taught our Duty therein ; *No Man muzzleth the Mouth of the*

Ox ; and no Man goeth a Warfare at his own Charge ; and he that plants a Vineyard, eats the Fruit thereof : And herein it is agreed, that the Ministers of *Christ Jesus*, who are called to his Service, and labour in the Word, ought to be comfortably provided for, that they go not a Warfare at their own Charge.

BUT this doth not require, that the World, (which lies waste as a Wilderness, and is not of the Vineyard) should contribute, much less be compelled, to give a certain Portion of the Fruits of their Labours, towards the Maintenance of Christ's Ministers.

AND these grant, that every Man is the sole Owner of his own Labour and Possession ; and though by another he may not be compelled, for such Sacrifice God abhors, yet ought every one freely to glorifie God with his Substance, to strengthen the weak Hands and feeble Knees, and to give to him that teacheth, those Things that are needful, and such cheerful Givers God accepts.

AND this leaves every one free to give to him that teacheth, not binding to the Maintenance of those who have less Need than the Giver, or of those who are transformed as Apostles and Ministers of Christ, who have the Form, but want the Power, who teach for filthy Lucre, keeping ever learning, but cannot bring to the Knowledge of the Truth.

AND of such as Christ Jesus sent forth, he always took care, and they never wanted, but they reaped the Fruits of their Labour, and eat the Fruits of their own Vineyards which they had planted, and by the Churches who were gathered out of the World, were they maintained to preach the Gospel to the World, unto whom they would not make the Gospel chargeable or burthensome, which was their Glory and their Crown:

AND herewith let all our now called Churches be proved and tried, who separate from the World, and yet many of them receive Pay and Wages for their Teachers from the World, who send none at their own Cost to preach to the World.

AND here our Rulers should learn Wisdom, to with-hold their Hands from upholding any with their worldly Sword, and compelling others to maintain them ; and to leave Christ's Kingdom to his own Rule, who is Lord of the Harvest, and sends forth Labourers, and hath Spirit to put upon them ; who sends forth the Fishermen, the Shepherds, the Herdsmen, the Tillers of the Ground, and the Keepers of Flocks, who speak plain Words that wise Men cannot understand, who are wise in the Worlds Wisdom, gathered in Schools, whither they are sent to learn a Trade, thereby to get their Livings ; and in the Time of Popery, they studied the Popish Doctrines, and then preached them to others ; and in the Time of Prelacy, they changed to a new Form : And when that was laid aside, *Presbytery* was set up, and then such the Universities sent forth ; and since *Independency* was preferred, great Store of them are spread abroad ; and look what pleaseth them best that have the greatest Livings in Dispose, that is the most cried up, and most studied and preached ; and here is the Spring of our Teachers, the Universities ; and these say, that *Greek* and *Hebrew* are the Original, which they go thither to learn, that they may understand what Christ spoke, and the Apostles preached : But the *Hebrews* and *Greeks* who heard them speak in their own Language, could not understand their Doctrine, for it seemed Foolishness to them ; and these by their Original are in no better State, nor nearer to the Knowledge of the Gospel : And let

our Rulers consider, that Christ's Love to the World, for whom he died, is not abated ; neither is his Spirit diminished, nor his Power shortned, that he will not, or cannot, send forth, and fit Ministers for his Service ; or that he needs Universities to instruct, or Magistrates to provide Maintenance for those he sends forth. And let them look to their own Kingdom, the World, therein to punish and restrain the Evil, and to encourage and protect the good ; and then all would be agreed, and the Nation kept in Peace, every one enjoying his true Liberty and Freedom : For in this it is assented, that the Ministers of Christ Jesus, who sow unto us spiritual Things, should reap of our Temporals : But here is the Difference, first, That our Consciences must be our Judge who those Ministers are, and no other Man's Direction ; for to the Conscience were Christ's Ministers always made manifest, and not approved with the Reason and Wisdom of Man. Secondly, That our Gift must be free, and by no Man's Compulsion.

Would not this ease the Magistrate of much Trouble that he makes to himself, and be more acceptable to God and Man ? for who hath made him a Judge in these Things ?

A third Sort plead the Decrees, Canons, Constitutions of general Councils, Popes, Bishops, Conventions.

To such I shall only say, that for the first Eight Hundred Years after Christ, no Canon or Decree was made by *general Council*, nor was it then determined by the Church (as 'twas called) what Part every Man should pay. And the first eight *general Councils* do not so much as speak of the
Name

Name of Tythes, and that was till about a thousand Years ; and then about that Time, it came to be received and believed, that Tythes ought to be paid ; yet in *England*, as well as other Nations, every Man might have given his Tythe where he pleased, till about the Year 1200. as is already proved. But I need not say much to these, few being of this Mind, but those that own the *Pope* for their Head, we having in *England* denied and cast off his Supremacy, though in this Matter of Tythes, and many other Things, we still feel his Power amongst us.

AND now having briefly gone over the Substance of what is pleaded for a Divine or Ecclesiastick Right, I come next to what is pretended for an Humane Right.

And the first Sort pleads the Gifts of Kings, as Ethelwolp, &c.

To these I answer, if they could prove the whole Land had been the particular Possession of any such King, they said something ; though that would not justify the taking Tythes from all the People, as shall be more fully proved hereafter. But by what Right, could he give the tenth Part of the Increase and Fruits of the Labours of all the People of his Dominions, who had no legal Property therein ? It was an easie Matter, when the *Pope's* Emissaries had taught the People, that Tythes were due to God and them ; and had persuaded Kings and Nobles, that Heaven might be purchased by their Works, to procure from them the Gift of that which was not theirs, the poor People's Tythes ; especially considering the People were of the same Mind, and as zealous of all the *Popish Superstitions* as themselves, and every one striving who should therein most excel ; witness those many rich Abbeyes and Monasteries, lately

in this Land. But if that King *Ethelwolp*'s Grant be the Foundation of Tythes, then how many succeeding Kings and Bishops, and others, have violated his Deed, by appropriating them to Abbeys, Monasteries, and such like Houses? And how have all Ages since *Ethelwolp*'s, taken upon themselves the Disposition of Tythes, without any Relation to what he did? Which shews clearly, that neither *Kings*, *Parliaments*, nor *People*, did ever take themselves bound by his Grant: But the Folly and Vanity of this Argument will more plainly appear hereafter.

THE next, and those which seem to have the strongest Plea, do urge, *The Temporal Laws of Kings and Parliaments*, and say, *by the Law they have as good Property in Tythes, as any Man hath in his Lands.*

Ans. To such I say, the *Law* doth not give any Man a Property, either in Land or Tythes, or any other Thing, but only doth conserve to every Man his Property, which he hath in his Land and Possessions, either by Gift, Purchase or Descent, and secure him from the Injury or Violence of another.

BUT let us not be deceived with a new Pretence, lately taken up to delude simple Minds, of a legal Property, and a civil Right; for that is but a Shift, and it matters not what any say, or now pretend, concerning the Right of Tythes, when they see their other Claims will not serve the Turn; but let us hear what the *Makers* of the *Laws* say of them, those from whom they claim; and passing by the *Saxons* Times, and King *Stephen*, and the rest of those who were in the Mid-night of *Popery*, let us come to *Henry* the 8th, who cast off the *Pope*, and upon whose Law, all others that were since made are builded, and in the Preamble of

of the Act, it is declared, *That Tythes are due to God and holy Church*, and they blame Men for being so wicked as not to pay them; and therefore that Law is made, and here is the Ground of the Law, not any Property or civil Right in Priests or others, and therefore, if the Law require them as due by Divine Right, he that saith they are only due by humane Right, cannot claim them, nor ought to recover them by that Law, for he claims them by another Right; and for any Man to claim that by humane Right, from humane Law, which commands them as due by divine Right, is but a meer Deceit. And that Law of *Hen: the 8th.* and the rest, did not upon any civil Ground set up, or constitute the Payment of Tythes, but takes it for granted, *that Tythes are due to God and holy Church*; and therefore the Foundation of the Law being taken away, *that they are not due to God and holy Church*, the Law falls to the Ground; for the Law not making them due, but supposing them due by a former Right, if they were not so due, the Law cannot be binding.

THAT Tythes were never, till now of late, pretended a civil Right, is plain; for as they were imposed by the Pope, so were they triable in his Courts; and those very Laws made by late Parliaments, did appoint them to be tried in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and restrained the temporal Jurisdiction, as the Acts themselves testify.

BUT what is the Property that is now claimed? is it in a Person? that cannot be, for the Priest hath them not till he enter his Office, and when he parts with that, he loseth his Tythes: So the Priest hath no Property, but his Office; and what is that? It was a Popish Office when Tythes were first paid to it; and how comes the Property to continue now the Office is laid aside, and the Pope
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that set them up? But how can a civil Right or Property be pretended, when the Author was the Pope? The End for a called Spiritual Office, and recovered in an Ecclesiastical called Court, are not these Covers grown too short?

AND in the Act of 32 H. 8. Tythes are called *Spiritual Gifts*: And there, of impropriate Tythes sold after the Dissolution, it's said, they are now made temporal: And before that Time, it was never heard that Tythes were called a temporal Right.

BUT it's farther said, *These Laws were made by Parliaments, the Representatives of the People: And though Tythes were not due before, yet they might give Tythes, because their own, they being the Body of the People.*

THIS would suppose a particular Consecration, or Donation of the People, not only as in their *Legislative* Capacity, to bind themselves by a *Law*, but by a particular Act of Free-Gift: But it's plain, the Act never intended any such Thing, for it gives nothing, but commands what was before.

AND as to the *Law* it self, and all other *Laws* of Kings, Parliaments, Popes, Councils, Bishops, and what ever else was by any Man made for the Payment of Tythes since Christ Jesus came in the Flesh, joyned altogether, how do they all, or any of them, bind the Conscience? For if Tythes be not due by the *Law* of God, as is herein proved, and almost generally granted: Who hath set them up? The *Law* of Man at best; And who is Man, that makes a *Law* in the Place where God disannulled his own Command? Is it better to obey Man than God? Or is Man
grown

grown wiser than his Maker? Who put this Power into the Hand of Man, to raise a compulsory Maintenance for Ministers? That any Parliament have Power, to make any binding *Law* for the Maintenance of those they call Ministers, for doing a Work which they call Worship of God, and force the People to submit to it, the clear Light of this Age doth generally condemn; for they are much more like to set up and maintain those who are contrary to Christ, than Christ's Ministers, who never looked for, nor durst own such a Way of Provision. Will any say they have Power? From whom had they it? Is it derived from the People? That cannot be. Have they any other Power committed to them? How is it? As they are Magistrates; if so, the *Turk*, and all Infidel Magistrates have the like? Or is it as they are Christian Magistrates? Then may not *France*, *Spain*, &c, claim the same? For what Nation in *Europe* will not say they have a Christian Magistracy, though far the greater Part of them be *Papists*? And may not a *Papist* by as good Right require and compel Maintenance for his Ministers, as *Hen* the 8th, or any other could, or can do? But that I may not be mistaken, as if I went about to take away the Magistrate's Power to raise Taxes, Assessments, or other Charges, for the Service and Defence of the Nation, it is needful to distinguish between those Things that are called Civil, and such as are called Spiritual: For civil Ends and Uses, the People may give Power to their Representatives to raise Moneys, or any other civil Thing, because in such Things they are their own Masters: But in Matters of Religion and spiritual Things, no Man can give Power unto another, to impose any Thing upon himself, or his Neighbour; for in those Things
every

every one is to be accountable unto God, and to stand and fall to his own Master. And thus *we give unto God, the Things that are God's; and unto Cæsar, the Things that are his*; paying Tribute, to whom Tribute is due. But as for all *Laws* made in the Will of Man, in the Things of God, and their heavy Punishments inflicted upon such as cannot for Conscience Sake conform unto them, they reach not the Conscience, and therefore make no Sin against God.

AND as concerning the *Laws* of *K. Hen. the 8th* and *Edw. the 6th*, it may be considered, some of them were made by a Popish King and Parliament, and the rest, in the Glimmerings of Light, when Men were but seen as Trees; and therefore, to make their *Laws* a Rule for this Day of clear and Sun-shine Light, favours too much of the old Popish Spirit, and is a Shame to our Reformation: And if it be said, *Papists* might, and did make good *Laws*; its true, in temporal Things they did, but not in Things of Religion, wherein they are differenced from us, because *Papists*.

BUT were the *Law* just in commanding Tythes, can it be equal to give double or treble Damage, where they are not paid? If any Man owe a just and due Debt, no more by *Law* can be recovered, but what the Debt is, besides the Charges of the *Law*: How cruel therefore are these *Laws* and *Ordinances*, which in a Matter of so much just Scruple, require and impede the double or treble Value? And how unrighteous are all such Persons, as by Force of such *Laws* receive them? For if Tythes were due, is therefore the treble Value due, because the *Law* hath made that Penalty? Where is Equity or Justice in either? The *Pope* and his Adherents did only excommunicate the
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the Refuser till he conformed; and till these late *Laws*, such Penalties as Imprisonment and treble Damage were never known. And here what was by our Forefathers Superstition (whom we look back at as afar off, and pity) begun in Ignorance, we build up, and confirm with Tyranny, and instead of their Rods, make to our selves Scorpions.

BUT herein is not all, but the *Law* requires every Man to set out the Tenth, and so makes him a voluntary Agent, in that, against which his Conscience testifies, which is most cruel and unrighteous; and him that cannot do so, they sue and hale before Courts and Magistrates, and there they get Judgment of treble Damage, and by that Judgment, frequently take Five-fold, yea sometimes Ten-fold the Value: Shall not these Things render this Age, which so much pretends to Reformation, contemptible to future Generations? And for these Things, shall not even *Papists* rise up in Judgment against us, and condemn us?

BUT how is it that any *Law* for Tythes is now executed? do not all *Laws* and *Statutes* for Tythes restrain the Tryal of them to the Ecclesiastical Courts, and prohibit the temporal Courts from meddling with them? And since the Ecclesiastical Courts are destroyed, who have Power to give Judgment for Tythes? No temporal Judge proceeding according to the *Laws* for Tything. How is it then, that so many Persons are sued, prosecuted, and unjustly vexed for Tythes in all the Courts at *Westminster*; and not only so, but in the Sheriff's Court, and other petty Courts in the Country?

Obj. If it be said, *The Statute gives double Damages and Costs, and no Court being appointed where that shall be recovered, it must be supposed to be the Common-Law Courts,*

N. B. *This was in the Time of the Common Wealth.*

I answer, by asking of what must they give the double or treble Damage, seeing they are restrained from trying for the single Value? If they cannot judge the one, how can they award the other? will they condemn an Accessary before they try the Principal? What is this but to make the *Law* a Nose of Wax, or any Thing, to uphold another unrighteous Kingdom.

Obj. It will be said, *Justices of Peace have Power.* It may be so by an Ordinance, but no Act of Parliament, which is the *Law of England*; and that they do it, many poor People feel; for generally they give treble Damages for all Manner of Tythes, when as the *Statute* gave but double, and Costs, and that only for predial Tythes: And they usually execute their Precepts by such Persons as will do it effectually, who take generally five Times more than the Value, which they appraise and sell far under the Worth; and he that cannot comply with their Cruelty, and confess their Judgment just, by accepting back what they will return, doth frequently suffer five or six-fold, yea often ten-fold Damage. And here the Fingers of the Justices are too often found, by conscientious Men, far more heavy than the Loins of the *Law*, nay more than of the old Ecclesiastical Courts, or the *Pope* himself, who hath no such Penalties. I write what I can prove by manifold Instances.

THOUGH these Oppressions be many and great, yet are they not all that this Age exercises; for by a new Device, under pretence that Priests are not able to pay Tenth's to the *Protector*, unless every Man pay them their Tythes, they sue Men for all Manner of Tythes by *English Bill* in the *Exchequer*, and there would force them upon their Oaths, to declare what Tythes they have, when

as in the Ecclesiastical Courts, the Ordinary might not examine a Man upon his own Oath, concerning his own Tythe: And here such as either make Conscience of Swearing, which Christ forbids, or cannot themselves tell what Tythe they had, are cast into Prison for Contempt, where they may lie as long as they live, no *Law* in the Nation reaching them any Relief: And divers upon this Account, have long lain in the *Fleet*, and yet are there; and I believe above an hundred Suits are in the *Exchequer* depending, and Proceedings stopt at this Point; the Hearts of the very Officers of the Court relenting with Pity, towards such Numbers of poor Men brought thither every Term, from the most remote Parts of the Nation, and some of them not for above twelve Pence; such merciless Cruelty lodges in the Hearts of many, if not the most of our pretended Gospel-Ministers.

*This was in
the Year
1655, or
thereabouts*

Oh shameful Reformation! What! compel a Man himself, to set out the Tythe of his own Goods to maintain a Hireling-Priest, it may be, one openly prophane, and so make him sin against his own Conscience, or take from him thrice, or rather five Times as much! and not only so, but to force him to swear what Tythes he had, or commit him to Prison, there to lie without Hope of Relief; doth not the Cry of these abominations reach through Palace-Walls, and enter Parliament-Doors? Surely they reach the Gates of Heaven. And though Man have forgotten his fair Promises, God will in due Time break these Bands, and send Relief another Way. Oh cursed first Fruits and Tenths, the superstitious Relique of Popery, and Wages of Unrighteousness, the Cause and Cover of all these *Exchequer-Suits*, and of most of these Mischiefs! Must we still have
Priests

Priests and Tythes? Then may we not wish for old *Priests*, and old Ecclesiastical-Courts? for much more Moderation was in them, and even *Papists* would blush at our Cruelties. Did but the Magistrate see what Havock is made in the North, what driving of Goods, the Oxen out of the *Plow*, the Cows from poor and indigent Children, what carrying of *Pots*, *Pans* and *Kettles*, yea and fetching the very Clothes off poor People's Beds, he would either be ashamed of such Justices, or such *Priests* or Tythes, or of them all. Such Instances I could give, as would make the Reader's Ears to tingle; and he that cannot believe me, let him send into *Cumberland*, and he shall meet with few that cannot inform him of it; or do but let him go a little after Harvest, and he may find the Justices so busie, as if they had little other Work to be doing. But whither have I digressed? let me return to hear what the next can say.

3. And these plead the Gift of those that were formerly Possessors of the Land, and say, *Those that pay Tythes, do but that which their Ancestors justly charged upon them.*

To such I answer, that it's true, many Ancestors gave Tythes which of them were required, as before hath been declared; but what is that to us? Or how are we thereby bound? Did ever any Man, in any Deed or Conveyance of his Land, express any such Gift, or make any Exception of Tythes? I never saw or heard of such a Thing; and let those who can find such Reservations, make their Claim; but I believe it will not be in *England*. That which this Sort pleads, seems to make a Ground for a distinct Property; for if there be a Property, it must of Necessity arise from

from him that was the true Owner, and had Power to charge himself and his Posterity ; and these say, *they have as good Right to the tenth Part, as the Owner hath to the nine, and that he never purchased it, and the like.* Unto all which I answer, that though it were true, and could be proved; That mine Ancestors gave Tythes, and that for ever, yet am I not thereby bound to pay them, or stand any way chargeable with them. It's true, when they were Owners of Land, they might themselves yield and set forth what Part of their Increase they pleased, or might have given the tenth, or any other Part of their Land, as they would, or they might have charged upon the Land, what Rent they liked ; but they could not charge their Posterity, with that which was no Way theirs, nor which in any true Sense, Construction or Understanding, they could be said to have any Property in, and which is not paid, by Reason of that which is derived from them ; for Tythe is neither paid of Land, nor by Reason of the Land, but is paid by Reason of the Increase or Renewing and therefore the Doctrines of the old Fathers, the Statute of *Edw: the 6th.* and so the Popish Laws for Tythes, do as well require the Payment of the tenth Part of Men's Profits and Gain, whether by Trade, Commerce or Merchandize, as of the Fruits of the Earth, yea the tenth Part of Wages, and all personal Increase, though not raised immediately by Land : And surely no Man will say, that he pays Tythe of these because his Ancestor charged him with them ; nor will any Man allow, that another Person, by any Gift of his Ancestor, can have another distinct Property in the tenth Part of the Fruit of his Labours ; and the Case is the same as to all Tythes, whether predial, personal or mixt ; if I sit still
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and plow not, no Corn will grow : If I sit still, and work not, no Profit will rise ; so that it's my Labour, my Diligence and Industry that raiseth the Tythe, and in my Power it is, to make it less or more ; and sometimes, yea often, it falls out, that the Tythe of Corn is thrice more worth than the Yearly Value of the Land on which it grows ; and herein Tythe of Corn is far more hard and unequal than personal Tythes ; for the one pays but the Tenth, all Charges deducted ; the other pays the Tenth of Charges and all.

MINE Ancestor could not charge me with that which doth not accrue by Reason of that which I have from him ; nor am I bound, because mine Ancestor left me Land, to pay Tythe, which is not paid by Reason of the Land, but of the Increase, unto which I am no more tied by *Law*, than he is who hath Increase without Land. If I have Land, and no Increase, I pay no Tythes ; if I have Increase, though no Land, I ought by *Law* to pay Tythes. If I husband my Land, so that the Increase of it is not to be severed, no Tythe can be recovered of it ; and therefore if I pasture my Land, no Tythe shall be paid for the Grass, which is eaten unsevered, but only a Rate-Tythe for that which doth depasture on it ; which makes it plain, that Tythe is not paid by Reason of the Land, but of the Stock ; and in that also, it lies in my Power to make the Tythe much, little or nothing ; if I plough and sow Corn, the tenth Part of the Increase is generally more worth than the Land on which it grows, which comes not by the Land which descends from the Ancestor, but because of the Increase, won by the great Charge, Industry and Labour of the Husbandman. If I pasture my Ground with Sheep that yield a Fleece, the Tythe will be considerable, though

though not so much as by Corn: If I pasture with Cows or breeding Cattle, a much less Tythe is paid: And if I eat with Horses and barren Cattle, a small and inconsiderable Rate is only required, tho' in few Places of the Nation would that be recovered in the Times of greatest Height of Popish Laws. But if I plant Wood, and let it stand for Timber; or if I store my Land with Beasts which be *feræ naturæ*, wherein there is no personal Property, no Tythe shall be paid. Or if I will let my Land lie waste, (which may be supposed, because it may be done) or will eat my Meadow, or Corn standing, no Tythe can be required. All these Instances manifest, that Tythe hath still Relation to the Stock and personal Estate, and not to the Land; and is paid by Reason of the Stock, and not the Land; and so no Ancestor could lay and perpetuate such a Charge as Tythe upon it, nor could he bind his Successor to it. If by my Ancestor I am bound to pay Tythes, *ratione tenuræ*, or in Consideration of the Land which he leaves me, to what Value must it be? I may yearly pay more than the Land he leaves me is worth: If I keep it in Tillage, and if I pasture it, I need not pay the twentieth Part; have not I herein (without Fraud to my Ancestors) Power to pay much or little? * How is this like a Rent-Charge certain, which is by some objected? If Tythes were paid

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*It may be farther shewn, that there is no Parity of Reason between Tythes and a Rent-Charge fix'd upon Lands; for a Rent-Charge is paid by Reason of the Land on which it is charged (in which, he that charg'd had a Property) but Tythes are not paid by Reason of the Land, but by Reason of the Stock and Labour of the present Occupier of the Land. If there be no Increase, no Profit made, no Crop planted, nor any Thing renewing upon the Land, no Tythe

by Reason of the Land, surely there is most Reason, that the tenth Part of the Grass renewing upon

can be demanded. But for the Non-Payment of a Rent-Charge, he on whom it is settl'd, may enter upon and possess the Land which is charged with the Payment of it. But for Non-Payment of Tythes, he who claims them, cannot enter upon or possess the Land, but is made whole out of the Stock of the Occupier. All which demonstrates, that it is the Stock, not the Land, of which the Tythe is paid. Now since Tythes are not the tenth Part of the Land, but the tenth Part of the Increase of the Stock, and seeing the Labour, Care, Skill, Industry and Diligence of the Occupant, is involved, and necessarily included in the Stock, as instrumental Means and Causes of producing the Increase: a perpetual Grant of Tythes, implies a Grant not only of other Men's Stocks, in which the Granters had no Property, but of other Men's Labours, Care, Skill, Diligence and Industry also, long before they were begotten; upon which Supposition, all Men but Priests, since *Ethelwolf's* Time (the first King of *England*, who made a Grant of Tythes) must be born Slaves, under an Obligation to employ their Time, Pains, Industry and Skill, in working for the Priests. But whether it be rational to admit in *Ethelwolf*, or any other, a Power to impose the Necessity of such a servile Condition on their Posterity, let the Reader judge.

And if we suppose, that *Ethelwolf* had an ample Power of disposing what he pleased, or that the People had by Consent joyned with him in the Donation, every Man according to the Interest he had; yet neither could he single, nor he and they conjoyn'd, grant any more than belonged to themselves; for 'tis an indisputable Maxim, that * *No Man can transfer more Right to another, than he himselfe hath.* They might have disposed of what Part of the Land they pleased, they might have given the tenth Part of the Land, the tenth Acre &c. But for them to make a Grant of the tenth Part of the Profits of the Land for ever, is repugnant to Reason, Justice and Equity; they are therefore greatly mistaken, who take Tythes to be no more than a Rent-Charge, and urge it, That the Owners might as well make a Grant of Tythes for ever, as set a Rent-Charge upon their Lands for ever.

Tho' this Argument has been urg'd for the Reason and Lawfulness of paying Tythes, yet if we consider impartially the

on all Pasture-Grounds should be paid ; for the Land still brings that with it, and it's easily dividable

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the Nature of each, we shall find a vast Difference : For if a Man enjoys a Farm, on which a Rent-Charge is settled, he is chargeable with, and liable to pay it, whether he employ his Farm or not. Whence it is evident, that a Rent-Charge being a Charge upon the *Land*, not upon the *Stock*, and *Tythes* being a Charge upon the *Stock*, not upon the *Land*, tho' our Ancestors had Power to lay a *Rent-Charge* upon their *own Lands*, in which they had a *Property*, yet they could not have a Power to grant Tythes out of other Men's Stocks, in which they had no *Property*. Again,

Tho' it should be urged, *That Tythes were settled by those that were actually seized of them in Law*; yet if Tythes be the Tenth of the Profits or Increase of the Land, they who were actually seized of them in Law, could settle no more than they were seized of, and they could be actually seized of no other Profits or Increase, than what did grow, increase, or renew upon the Land, while they were actually seized of it : so that such Settlement, how valid soever, while they lived, must needs expire with them. Hence can any one with Reason urge, that they who were possessors of Land an Hundred Years ago, could then settle and dispose of the Profits and Increase that shall grow and arise upon the Land an Hundred Years after, since that Profit cannot arise barely from the Land, but from the Labour, Industry and Stock of the Occupier ? Were ever any actually seized of the Labour of the Husband-man's Hands, of the Sweat of his Brows, of the Judgment, Understanding and Skill that God hath given him ; of the Stock he employs, the Cost he bestows, the Care, Pains, Industry and Diligence he exercises for the obtaining a Crop ?

Again, if we consider the Practice of our Ancestors, in their Donations of Tythes, we may find, that they did not look upon Tythes to be at all in the Nature of a Rent-Charge ; for they took great Care by *Legal Settlements*, to secure and assure those *Rent-Charges* ; but made no Provision (for some hundred Years) for the *Payment of Tythes*, (save by Ecclesiastical Censures ; nor was the Knack of Sueing for Tythes in *temporal Courts* found out, till of late Years ; which argues, that as they gave Tythes at first in a *religious* (tho' blind) Devotion, so they intended the *Continuance* of them should have depended on *Devotion* also. *Thomas Ellwood's Foundation of Tythes shaken.*

videable by Rent, or let by Month. If another hath as good Right to the tenth Part of the Increase, as the Owner hath to the nine, why can he not take it without the Owner's setting it out, or recover it by Action of Debt or Trespafs? But it is clear there is no Title till it be set forth, and then if the Owner carry it away, an Action of Trespafs lies, because he had set it out, and given it to another, and so altered his Property, as one Man doth, by marking his Cattle for another Man, and therefore it is, that the *Law* which commands Tythes, doth not give Power to any to take the Tythe, because he had no Title, but enjoyns the Owner to set it forth, and so make it another's by his own Consent.

IF any Man claim Tythes by my Ancestors Gift, may I not ask him, to whom, and for what, my Ancestors gave them? And it is plain beyond Denial, that all those Gifts of Lands or Tythes in *England*, since *Augustin* the Monk planted the *Popish Faith*, and preached up the new Payment of Tythes, were given to *Popish Priests*, for saying Prayers for the Souls of the Givers, and their deceased Ancestors, as old Consecrations do witness: And therefore in Reason, if the Consideration and Service be ceased, so ought also the Wages, for no Man, in Law or Equity, ought to claim Wages when he will not do the Work for which it was given; and seeing those *Popish Priests* and *Prayers* are laid aside, the Gift (if any such were, and could be binding) ought to return to the Donor, and may not without his Consent be perverted to another Use.

SHEP-
HERD. ' TYTHE was never claimed in Respect of any
' Ownership in the Land, but *ex debito*, by the
' Law of God, for Subtraction whereof, no
' Remedy lay at the *Common-Law*; and there-
' fore,

‘ fore, if a Parson let a Lease of his Glebe to another, with all the Appurtenances, yet he himself shall have Tythe of it ’

‘ *Terræ non sunt decimabiles* ; and therefore neither Mines nor Quarries of Iron, Brass, Tin, Lead, Coles, Stones, Tile, Brick, or Lime are tythable, nor Houses; nor Trees, nor Grass, nor Corn, till they be severed from the Land, the real Estate which descends by Inheritance from the Ancestor, and made a distinct personal Possession.’ And therefore Tythe is not paid of Land, nor by Reason of the Land, nor is it a Charge upon Land, like a Rent-Charge, nor was it ever so claimed, till of late, that the *Popish* *Covers* were not broad enough.

COOK.

*Consimilari
is Felony &
Trespass be
tween free
hold and
moveable
Goods.*

Obj. But some object and say, *When I bought my Land, I bought not the Tythe, nor paid any Thing for it.*

An. I answer, That I and all Men bought all our Land, and that without any Charge of Tythe upon it ; and therefore in all Conveyances, it's still said, *All that* &c. and never any Covenant for, or Exemption of, a tenth Part, either of Land or Increase; and to him that saith, the Seller, or his Ancestor charged it with Tythes, as a Rent, I say, where a Rent is charged, it is still expressed ; and find any such Exception or Covenant, and I will freely pay them as a just Debt. And is it not ridiculous, for any to talk of purchasing his Tythe? For with his Labour, Charge and Husbandry, he pays dear enough for his whole Increase.

Obj. Another objects, *That though I bought all my Land, yet I bought it cheaper, (because it was supposed, that it ought to pay Tythes) than I could have bought such Land as was known to be Tythe-free ;*

and therefore having a cheaper Bargain, I am bound in Equity to pay Tythes, *

Ans. I answer, that I have already proved all Land is Tythe-free, and the Charge of Tythe is upon

N. B. Let the Reader consider, * *What it is the Purchaser buys, and what it is Tythes are demanded of.* The Purchaser buys the *Land*, and that he buys intire. No Tithe-Land, no tenth Acre, is ever excepted expressely or implicitly; but he buys the *Whole* Field or Farm, the *tenth* Part as well as the *nine*. But in this Purchase he buys the *Land*, not the *Profits* or *Increase*, which by Husbandry and manuring may arise upon the *Land* in Time to come; for they are *uncertain*, and the Seller who makes him an Assurance of the *Land*, will not undertake to assure him a future Increase and Profit from the *Land*; nor were it reasonable to expect it. When therefore he has this and, if he will have Profit and Increase from it, he must purchase that after another Manner. He pays for that, (and many Times dear enough too) by the Labour and Charge he bestows in Tilling, Dressing and Manuring it. And if in this Sense, he may be said to purchase the nine Parts of the Crop or Increase, in the same Sense he purchaseth the tenth Part also, for he bestows his Charge and Pains on all alike; and the tenth Part stands him in as much as any one of the Nine. Thus then the Buyer first purchaseth the *Land*, and afterward the Occupier, whether Owner or Tenant, purchaseth the *Crop*. The one buys the *Land* by laying down so much Money, the other obtains the *Crop*, by bestowing so much Charge, and so much Labour, &c. And as in the Purchase of the *Lands*, the Buyer doth as really buy the *tenth Acre*, or tenth Part of the *Lands*, as the Ninth or any other Part of the Nine; so in the Purchase of the *Crop*, the Occupier doth as really purchase the *tenth Part* of the *Profits* and *Increase*, as he doth the Ninth, or any other Part of the Nine; and after the same Manner, he lays his Dung on *all alike*, he sows his Seed on *all alike*, he plows *all alike*, he bestows Pains and Charge, and exercises his Skill and Care *equally on all*. Thus it appears, that *Tythes are really purchased* by them, by whom the nine Parts are purchased, and do really belong to them, to whom the nine Parts do belong; whether Tythes be understood of *Lands* or of *Profits*. If of *Lands*, the Purchaser doth as really buy the *Tenth Acre*, as any of the Nine, and gives as much for it. If of *Profits*, the *Tenth Sheaf*, or *Tenth Part* of the *Crop*, doth cost the Occupier as much to the full, as any other of the nine Parts.

upon the Stock and personal Estate, and not upon the Land:— And the Strength of this Objection, lies in comparing those that pay Tythes with those that are free; they that buy Lands Tythe-free, are eased of this Oppression, and are in no Hazard; and though all others ought to be so, yet it being a Question, whether they can ease themselves of the Burden, they buy under an Hazard, and as subject to such a Charge; but if they can cast off the Yoke, they get but what is their own: And seeing we have denied the Pope's Authority and Supremacy, we may so soon as we can, wholly cast off the Burdens which he laid on us. And thus, he that buys Land in Years of Trouble and heavy Taxes, may perhaps buy much cheaper than when none, or little, is paid: Shall he therefore always be required to pay Taxes when others are discharged? Or shall he that bought cheap Penny-worths on the Borders between *England* and *Scotland*, when those Parts were infested with *Mosse-Troopers*, always maintain, or pay Tribute to Thieves and Robbers? We bought Land when the Pope's Yoke was upon our Necks, and if we can cast it from us, we may, by as good Reason, be eased of our Tythes, as they of their Taxes. But if I bought cheaper, what is that to the State, or to a Priest? If in Equity I be bound to pay any more, it is most just, that he have it of whom I bought my Land, and not another.

There are others, who plead a legal Right by Prescription, and that they have a good Right, because they have so long possessed them.

THIS was the old Device, first to preach that Tythes were due, and then to limit them to the Parishes, and when forty Years were past, to
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claim

claim that as a Debt, which before was paid as Charity, or at most as a Free-will Offering of the Owner. And thus the Pope got First-fruits and Tenth, and *Peter-Pence*, and many *Great Sums out of this and other Nations, which long continued; and he might as well have pleaded his Prescription, as any of his Branches now can do. Is any so blind, as not to see what poor Shifts are now made, to uphold so great an Oppression, which can find no better Ground for its Support than this, *that it hath been so long continued?* But shall the Continuance of an Oppression give Right to perpetuate the Grievance? How many great and heavy Pressures, in other Things, did long lie on this Nation, of Customs and Practices of former Times, which daily were, and still have been abolished, as *Light* did more and more increase? Witness those many Laws and Statutes made, and now in Force, abolishing the Usages and Customs of former Ages; but yet this is a great Mistake, for by the *Common-Law* (and the old *Papish Ecclesiastick-Law* is out of Doors) no Man can prescribe to have Tythes, though many may prescribe to be free from Tythes, or Part thereof; for he that claims Tythes, (except Impropiators, to whom I shall speak hereafter) must claim them as a Parson, Vicar, or other called Ecclesiastick Officer, and (as I have hinted before) he claims them not as such a Person, but as such an Officer, and the Prescription (if any were) is to his Office. Now if no such Office be in Being, his Claim is at an End. That there is now no such Office, is plain, for when *Hen.* the 8th, renounced

* In temp. H. 3. the Pope had above 120000 l. per Ann. out of this Nation, which was then more worth than the King's Revenue.

renounced the Pope, he was declared by Act of Parliament (which was assented to by all the Clergy in their Convention) to be the Head of the Church; and all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and all others in Ecclesiastical Orders, were no longer to hold of the Pope, but of the King, and not to claim their Benefices by Title from the Pope, but of the King, by Virtue of that Act of Parliament. And here the Succession from the Pope was cut off, and discontinued; and the King by his new Authority, as Head of the Church, made Bishops, and gave them Power to make Parsons, Vicars, and others called Ecclesiastick Officers. Afterwards, as the King renounced the Pope, so the Parliament of *England* laid aside Kings, who had assumed the Title and Stile of Head of the Church, and also abolished Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and all their Dependencies, Root and Branch: And here the whole Ecclesiastick State was dissolved, and the Body fell with the Head, and the Branches with the Root; both Parsons, Vicars and Curates, and all the whole Progeny and Off-spring, and so all their Right, Title and Claim to Tythes, was, and is at an End, as is more plainly, and more fully, set forth in a late printed Paper, by *Jer. Benson*, to which I refer.

AND now I come to the last, *Those that claim by Purchase, and these are the Impropriators, and they say they have bought them of the State, and have paid great Sums of Money for them, and many of them have no other Subsistence.*

To these I answer, That I have shewed before, that in the Root all Tythe is alike, whether it be now claimed by a Priest or an Impropriator, and both must fall together. And seeing those that
fold

fold them had no good Title, neither can theirs be made good which is derived from them: But seeing it was the State that fold them, and that the whole Nation had the Benefit of their Moneys, it is equal and just, when they cannot have what is fold, that their Moneys be repaid; to which Point I shall speak more fully hereafter, in Answer to an Objection which I meet with in my Way, needful to be resolved.

AND thus I have briefly gone over the whole Matter, and heard what every one can say, and have returned them Answers, by which it doth plainly appear, that no Man at this Day can claim Tythe of another, either by Divine or Humane Right; and that Tythes are neither due by the express Law of God, nor by the Equity of that Law, nor by the Decrees of the Church, nor Grants of Kings, nor Laws of Parliaments, nor Gifts of the People, nor Prescription of the Possessors, nor the Purchase of Impropriators.

IT now only remains, that I answer some general Objections, which I shall do in as much Brevity as I can, and so leave the whole to the Reader.

THE First is made by the *State*.

THE Second by *Impropriators*.

AND the Third by *Parish-Ministers*.

And all these together object, and say, *That tho' it should be granted, that the Right of Tythes cannot be proved, yet if it be found, that taking them away will bring great Loss to the Publick Revenue, much Damage, if not Ruin, to many particular Persons and Families, and great Hazard of bringing Confusion to the Nation, by such a great Alteration, after so long a Settlement, and endanger the very publick Profession of Religion, by taking away Minister's Maintenance,*

Maintenance, and consequently Ministry it self; it is not Prudence for satisfying some, to bring so many and great Inconveniences upon the Nation.

THESE Objections plead not for the Right of Tythes, but against the removing of them, to prevent Inconvenience; and if the one be granted, that Tythes are an innovated Popish Exaction and Oppression; and neither due by Law of God or Man, such Considerations as these ought not to obstruct the Removal of so heavy a Grievance and Oppression, but that which is just ought to be done, which is a general Good to the whole Body, and almost every individual Member; and then such Parts as are found grieved, may be afterwards eased and relieved; and though all these should in some Measure suffer, it were but just, seeing their Compliance with the Oppressor, hath brought such a general Yoke and Burden upon the whole Body, and now they are become the only Obstructions of the general Easement and publick Freedom.

AND yet a few Words I shall answer to every one, and first to the *State*, which complains of a great Loss by taking away first-Fruits and Tenth, which are paid out of Tythes.

WHEN the Pope had established the Payment of Tythes, and set up a new Hierarchy, after the Pattern of the *Jewish Priesthood*, he took upon himself to be Successor to the *Jewish High-Priest*, and claimed Tenth from all his inferior Priests, *jure divino*; and in process of Time, he got to himself, by the like Colour, first-Fruits also; and though it was long e're he brought his Work to pass in *England*, yet at last it was effected: You may by these following Instances know, how much our *English Nation* struggled against them.

*Jerom in
Ezek. ch.
44. v. 28.
&c.*

2Ed.3.Rol. *The King forbad H. P. the Pope's Nuncio, to col-*
 Clauf. M. *lect first-Fruits.*

The Pope's Collector was willed no longer to gather the first-Fruits, it being a very Novelty, and no Person was any longer to pay them.

4Parl.1Ri. *The Commons Petition, that Provision may be made*
 2. Nu. 66. *against the Pope's Collectors for levying of first Fruits.*

The King in Parliament answers, There shall be granted a Prohibition in all such Cases, where the Pope's Collectors shall attempt any such Novelties.

Rol. Parl. *Upon Complaint made by the Commons in Parlia-*
 4. R. 2. *ment, the King willeth that Prohibitions be granted*
 Nu. 50. *to the Pope's Collectors, for receiving of first-Fruits.*

Rol. Parl. *First-Fruits, by Arch-Bishops and Bishops to the*
 6. R. 2. *Pope, were termed an horrible Mischief, and dam-*
 Nu. 50. *nable Custom.*

6 H. 4. *The Pope's Collectors were required from thence-*
 Rol. Parl. *forth, not to levy any Money within the Realm, for*
 9 H. 4. *first-Fruits.*
 N. 43.

THE Pope thus claiming first-Fruits and Tenths as annexed to his Chair, Successor to the *Jewish High-Priest*, and Head of the Church, continued to collect them, till H. the 8th, discontented with the Pope, though himself was a *Papist*, renounceth the Pope's Supremacy, and assumes it to himself; and by Act of Parliament in the 26th Year of his Reign, got first-Fruits and Tenths annexed to his Crown, as Head of the Church; and so himself became worse than the Pope, taking the Wages, but not doing the Pope's Work: And that which before by Parliaments, in Height of Popery, was declared a damnable Custom, was now, in the Beginning of Reformation, made a Foundation-Stone to support the Greatness of the new-made Head.

AFTETWARDS, Queen *Mary*, not daring to assume the Headship of the Church, did relinquish,
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and by Act of Parliament wholly took away first-Fruits and Tenths, she doing no Work to deserve such Wages. And what a Shame is this to our Nation, and our great Professions, after so long Talk of Reformation, now to plead for such Wages of Unrighteousness, first exacted by the Pope, and then by such as assumed to themselves the Stile of Head of the Church, who upon that very Account had them annexed to the Crown? And shall we now, who pretend to have cast off the Pope, and left the Headship of the Church unto Christ, (worse like than *Queen Mary*) uphold such wicked Oppressions, which are the Ground of a great Part of good Men's Sufferings for Tythes this Day? For the Pretence of paying Tenths is the Ground of the many Suits for Tythes in the *Exchequer*, where otherwise by Law they could not, nor ought to be recovered. And as to the publick Revenue, I am informed they add not much thereunto, but all, or a great Part of them, are given in Augmentations to Priests, who, no doubt, will receive them without Scruple; though I know, many of them, not long since, did complain against them as a Popish Oppression. But take away Tythes, and there are as many Glebe-Lands will fall to the *State*, as will fully make up that Loss, which they may as well take away, as their Predecessors did the Revenues of Abbeyes and Monasteries; and when the People are eased of Tythes, they will be better able, and more willing, to enlarge the publick Treasury, if it be found wanting.

BUT it's hoped, our *State* rather looks at the Freedom of the People, than the Increase of the Revenue; seeing so lately they took away the Profits of the Court of *Wards*, which was a much better and greater Income, and granted many
great

great Men such Freedom for nothing, as they could neither in Right claim, nor in Reason expect, without a very great Sum, their Estates being given to them to hold by such Services; and surely, they will not deny the poorer Sort of People their own and dear bought Increase.

Secondly, *To Impropriators, and such as have more lately bought Tythe-Rents:*

AND to these I say, though it be a general Rule, *Caveat Emptor*, yet seeing the Ignorance of former Days (but peeping out of Popery) did take it for granted (both Buyer and Seller) that the Title was good; and since the Purchasers did pay great Sums of Money for them to the *State*, which went to the bearing and defraying the publick Charge of the Nation, it is just, that they have a moderate Price for them, with which I believe most (if not all) of them, would be well pleased and content; only in the Estimate of that Rate they must consider, that they have bought no more, but what the Abbey, Monastery, or other dissolved House had; and these Houses, out of their appropriate Tythes, were to find a sufficient Priest or Curate, Canonically instituted, which was to have Allowance at the Discretion of the Bishop of the Diocess, and also a convenient Portion of the Tythe was to be set apart, for the Yearly Maintenance of the Poor of the Parish for ever, as is provided by divers Acts of Parliament. And after the Dissolution and Sale of Tythes, the like Charge was, and ought to be continued upon them, as at large is proved, in a Treatise, called *The poor Vicar's Plea*; and let but such Purchasers look to their Original Grants, and they shall find, that the Yearly Value was but little, and
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the Rate small after which they paid for them ; and in Regard of the Charges and Hazards upon them, they were seldom, or never, esteemed more worth than ten Years Purchase, and that Rate at an indifferent Yearly Value may well be accepted for them.

THIS Answer will please the Impropiator well, who hath not been without his Fears to lose his Tythes, and get little or nothing for them ; and it cannot much displease others, because it is equal and just, that seeing he cannot have what is bought, he have his Money returned without Loss.

BUT the great Difficulty seemeth the raising of so great a Sum of Money, and who shall pay it ? For first, there are many who plead, *Our Lands are wholly Tythe-free* : Others say, *we pay a Rate, or small Prescription-Rent, or have a modus decimandi, and our Tythe is very small, though our Lands be of good Value.* Others say, *We have converted our Lands into Pastures, and pay little Tythe ; and therefore, it seems not equal, that we should pay as much as those, whose Lands consist of Tillage, whose Tythes are often as much worth as the Land.*

I answer, That the raising of this Sum, is not to follow the Rate of Tythe, nor hath it any Relation to Tythe ; for if it had, many would as justly scruple the Payment of any Thing towards it, as they do the Payment of Tythes ; but the Case must be thus considered : At the Dissolution, Tythes of Abbeys, Monasteries, &c. were taken into the Hand of the *State*, they sold them, and the Money raised, went to the defraying and carrying on the great Charge then upon the Nation, as it was of late in our Days, when Tythe-Rents were sold ; and at that Day, there were Wars with *France* and *Scotland*, and many great Exigences of *State*, as the Statutes for the Ground of the
Dissolution

Diffolution shew : And in the Service and Use of these Moneys, the whole Nation, and every Man therein, had his Share ; and so far as those Moneys went, the People were spared, as the Case was with us of late ; and so he that had Land Tythe-free, and he that paid only a small Rate for Tythes, and he that had Pastures and no Tillage, all these shared in the Sum, yea, and the very Impropropriator himself ; and not according to the Proportion of Tything, but according to the Value of their Estates in Lands or Goods, by which they had been otherwise chargeable : And so the Impropropriator depositing so much Money upon a Pledge, the one being required, the other must be returned, and by a general Tax it must be raised, wherein every one must bear his Proportion, the very Impropropriator himself.

BUT then in comes he that bought the Lands of Abbeyes, &c. which, he saith, *The Pope had made Tythe-Free, and that when he bought his Land, he also paid for the Tythe, and so he must either be freed from paying to the Impropropriator, or must have his Money returned as well as he.*

I answer, Though there are many such Purchasers, yet I believe, to the freeing the Nation from this great and long continued Oppression, they, or most Part of them, would be content to contribute without any such Demand : But if any stand upon it, let him shew what he paid for his Tythe, and he shall have it, which was not a Penny ; for, search the Court of Augmentations, and it will be found, that there was not in the Value of Land, the least Difference made between Tythe-free, and that which paid Tythes ; as there was not of late, in the Sale of Bishops, and Dean and Chapters Lands, many of which also were as much Tythe-free ; and so if they bought Land Tythe-free,

Tythe-free, as cheap as if they had paid Tythes ; they have had Profit enough, and may now well afford to pay with their Neighbours.

Thirdly, *To Parish-Ministers.*

AND with these I desire a little to expostulate the Matter, first, as touching the End of their Work ; and secondly, as to the Way of their Maintenance. Their Work, as they pretend, is to preach the Gospel, and to propagate Religion : Now I would ask them, why they suffer (not only so many Villages, Country Towns, and Parishes, but) even great and populous Cities and Market-Towns, and whole Corners of Countries, to lye destitute, who never could get any other Minister, than a poor Vicar or Reading Curate ; they will presently answer me, there is no Maintenance, and without that they cannot live. If I ask them farther, why there is no Maintenance ? they will tell me, It is either a City or Market-Town, to which there belongs no Land, and so no Tythes ; or it is an Impropriation, and pays only a small Stipend ; or the Lands are Tythe-free, or claim Customs and Prescriptions, and only pay small Rates for Tythes ; or otherwise the People have converted their arable Lands into Pastures, and their Tythe is of small Value, and will not afford a Maintenance. I would yet ask them again, Is not a third Part of the Nation in this Condition ? And must they never have an able Minister ? Have they no Share in your Gospel, because they have no Maintenance ? Are none of you called to such Places ? Or hath Christ no Seed of Election amongst them ? If this be not your Doctrine, yet your Practice preacheth it : And if you were really for spreading your Gospel,

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and

and enlarging Profession, you would forthwith throw away Tythes; for so long as they continue, there can never be any Possibility of raising Maintenance in such Places.

AND secondly, as to their Maintenance, is there any Indifferency, Equality, Proportion, or Justice, in their present Way of Tything? One Man pleads he is to pay nothing to a Minister, because the Pope hath given him a Dispensation, and made his Land Tythe-free. Another Man saith, he hath a Prescription to pay but a Penny (it may be) for the Value of a Shilling. Another saith, he hath converted his Lands into Pastures, and hath by his Artifice so ordered it, that little is due for Tythes. Another saith, he dwells in a City or Market-Town, and hath no Land, though it's like he gains more by Trade, than ten poor Country-Men that pay Tythes do by their Lands. Another saith, he pays Tythe to an Impropiator, and he cannot afford to pay both him and a Minister. Is this your equal Way of Maintenance, so long upheld and pleaded for? And have you not a more righteous Rule? The Rich generally pays little, and the poor Husbandman bears the Burden, even he that supplies the Nation with the Staff of Bread, who is notwithstanding at more Charge in his Husbandry than any other; and out of the Tythe of such Country Parishes of Tillage, generally great Sums are paid for Augmentations, to Cities and Market-Towns, when the Inhabitants, that have far greater Gains by Trading, go free. For Shame, at length follow the Example of your neighbouring Reformed Churches, and throw away Tythes as an old Relick of Popery, and no longer halt between two, and betake your selves to a more Gospel

Gospel-like Way of Maintenance; for Light now breaks forth, and Pretences will no longer cover.

IT's like you will answer, *We confess, the present Way of Maintenance by Tythes is very unequal, unless the whole Nation could be brought to quit all their Customs and Prescriptions, and pay Tythe in Kind; and also all Merchants and Tradesmen, would pay the tenth Part of their Gains, as was by the Pope enjoyned; but that will never be done, and therefore it's better to hold some, than lose all; for we know not what better Way would be provided: But shew us, how we may have a comfortable and certain Maintenance, and more like the Gospel, and we shall most willingly quit the one, and embrace the other.*

To this I answer, That there is a Way, which, as it would establish the Nation upon a sure Foundation of true Freedom (as to the Conscience) giving Content to all separated Congregations, Societies and Persons; so would it upon the same Basis of Liberty, hold forth full Satisfaction to all People of the Nation, both as to Ministry and Maintenance, and would be as acceptable to every one, as the taking away Tythes: But I have said enough at once, and when this is a little digested, the other will be more fit to be proposed.

ONLY to such as fear Confusion, or Trouble, or Loss to the Nation, by taking away Tythes, I would say a few Words: Do but look into almost every Country Town, and there shall you find Debate, Strife and Variance, either between Man and Man, or between Parishes and their Ministers, either about Tythe it self, the Quantity, or the setting it out; look into Courts, and there you shall find Suit upon Suit; and at Assizes, and before Justices of Peace, Multitudes of Trials and

Judgments about them : Look into Prisons, and there you shall find not a few restrained, and lying under great Oppressions, because they cannot pay them : And these Suits and Troubles are daily increasing, and the Number of those that will not pay them, and these are no small Confusions in our State ; for it is evident, there are more Suits, and Strife, and Difference about Tythes, than any one Thing whatsoever in the Nation ; and how soon might all these be ended, and every one satisfied, by taking away Tythes ? And then do but look upon the many Moors, Commons, and Wastes, in the Nation, amounting to a full third Part of the whole, as hath been computed, to the many great Pastures and Meadows decayed for Want of Tillage, to the many Countries which are turned into Pastures and Meadows, because of the great Charge of Tillage, Husbandry, and the unreasonable Payment of a clear tenth Part, which in most Places is half the Profit ; and it will be found, nothing does so much hinder the Improvement of the Nation, which would ease the publick Burdens, and would soon be of more Advantage than First-fruits and Tenths. Nothing so much hinders Tillage, which often puts the Nation upon Hazard of Ruin, and forceth us to seek Bread out of other Countries at immoderate Rates ; when as this Nation is generally so fit for Corn, that it might be as a rich Granary, not only for our own Supply, but Relief of our Neighbours when they want. I might say a great deal more upon this Subject, but much to this Purpose hath been said by others, and therefore I shall conclude.

And let no Man henceforth think it strange, that any should refuse to pay Tythes ; but rather wonder, that any will do it.

A N

A P P E N D I X.

*In the Year 1646, about two Years
after the Ministers (so call'd) had got an
* Ordinance of Parliament for Tithes;
there was a Treatise published with this Title,
Tithe-Gatherers no Gospel-Officers,*

O R

*Certain brief Observations concerning the first
Institution and paying of Tithes,*

Whereby it appears,

THAT Men were never compell'd to the
Payment of them in the Old Testament,
nor did ever practice it in the New.

T H A T the Gospel Contributions were all
voluntary, accounted as a free Gift, not a Debt;
the Apostles themselves, not only choosing to
labour with their own Hands, but requiring all
their Successors to do the like, that they might
not be chargeable to any of the Disciples.

To this Treatise there is an Epistle prefix'd,
directed to the Reverend Assembly of Divines at
Westminster. It begins thus,

Men, Brethren, and Fathers,

I could not choose but give you Notice of a
Design discover'd unto me, of no small Party,
which at present is conspiring, how the Possessi-
ons of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. which

F 3

by

* See Page 44. in the Great Case of Tithes.

by our Ancestors, were intended for publick and pious Uses, may become their peculiar Inheritance, and totally discourage Posterity from all charitable Legacies, when they shall see them alienated to such quite contrary Purposes.

I understand likewise of several Petitions by Multitudes of the most Conscientious Free-born Subjects of *England*, demonstrating how unjust it is, that a small Number, who, in Complement call themselves our *Ministers*, should at their own Pleasure, become our Masters; and so contrary to the Subjects Liberty, force from us the fifth Part of the whole Kingdom in Valuation, without either *Articles* or *Consent*; and that which is worst of all, even not to be longer endured by such as make Conscience of any Thing, they claim it by *Divine Right*, and for such Services, as to many seem little less than Anti-christian or Idolatrous.

'Tis frivolous for you to distinguish between a Conscience truly informed, and contrarily; for unless you will pretend your Arguments to be like the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, *Phil. iv. 7.* you must unavoidably permit Men, even every particular Man for himself, to resolve the whole Scripture, and every Part thereof, into a full Perswasion of his own Heart, concerning whatsoever he is to practise or believe. *Rom. xiv. 5, 22, 23.* Either grant this, or burn your Bibles, how many soever differing Translations, with their whole Impressions, as have been brought unto you; since you do but teach your Lay-People to suspect them all, whilst you your selves will not be ruled by any, in any Man's Judgment besides your own.

A Word to the Wise should be enough; it is of so great Interest and Consequence to this whole Kingdom,

Kingdom for one Respect or other, to demolish and root out the very Memory of this Tithe-Idol, which all other Reformed Christians have long since abominated, that it concerns you to look out some other Maintenance less scandalous, and more Gospel-like.

BUT you'll say perhaps, you have Maintenance allotted you by ORDINANCE OF PARLIAMENT. What an Ordinance of Parliament? I reverence Ordinances of Parliament, but, methinks, you should rather fly for Refuge to CHRIST's Ordinance. Ordinances of Parliament are repealable, what one Parliament bestows upon you, another Parliament may take away; but *Christ's Ordinances* are like himself, unchangeable; whatever you may think of him, doubtless you cannot leave him for a better Master: Try then a little, compare the Ordinances together, look before you leap, if ye be Men: If Christians, consider which may prove the surest, the better Title.

CHRIST ordained, *that they which preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel* 1 Cor. ix. 14. that is, they should have such a Livelihood as is set out, and warranted by the Gospel, which is the free Benevolence and Bounty of their Brethren, and if you will have it in Christ's own Words unto the true Disciples, *That into whatsoever House they enter, they should remain eating and drinking such Things as were set before them.* Luke x. 5, 7, 8. *and having Food and Rayment, they should be therewith content.* 1 Tim. vi. 8. On the other Side,

THE Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, Die Veneris, 8 Novemb. 1644. ORDAIN, *That every Person or Persons, within the Realm of England and Dominion of Wales, shall pay all and singular Tithes, Offerings, Oblations, Obventions, Rates for Tithes, and all other Duties commonly*

known by the Name of *Tithes*, unto the respective Owners, both *Lay* and *Ecclesiastical*.

THIS is the Effect of *Christ's Ordinance*, with that of the Lords and Commons in Parliament. I shall not seek to make Enmity betwixt them, and I hope every Reader, will, in Time, see how far forth they will run parallel. What will you more then? Our Saviour, you see, has by an *Ordinance of Heaven*, provided for you both Food and Raiment, requiring you, by his Apostle *Paul*, to be therewith content.

THUS much of the Epistle to the *Westminster-Divines* (so called) we shall now give the Reader a few of this Author's Arguments against Tithes.

TITHES, as I have proved, were not due until the *Israelites* came into the Land of *Canaan*, and that unto a Tribe of *Levi*, for particular express Purposes, *to wit*, besides others, that they should give one Tenth thereof for an Heave-Offering unto the High-Priest. *Numb.* xviii. 27, 28, 29. who was to sacrifice in the Temple at *Jerusalem*; and the said Tribe of *Levi* was to attend and do the Service of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* iii. 7, 8. and was only required to receive *Tithes* of their Brethren the *Jews*, the other eleven Tribes which came out of the Loins of *Abraham*, *Heb.* 7.9, 10. and neither they the said Tribe of *Levi*, nor the High-Priest, to have any other Portion or Inheritance besides the Tithes, *Numb.* xviii. 20, 23, 24. from whence, among others, we may draw these few Observations.

I. ACCORDING to the *Levitical Law*, the Tithes of the Land of *Canaan* only were payable, and that in the Land of *Canaan* only, and from the *Jews* their Brethren only; but these pretended Tithe-Mongers, lay Claim to the Tithes of all the World,

World, from all Sorts of Nations, to be due unto themselves the Clergy.

2. THE *Jewish Levites* were a peculiar Tribe, upon whom the Tithes were entailed from one Generation to another; and by a Statute to endure for ever, they were to have no other Inheritance, *Numb. xviii. 23.* but were to rely upon the Lord, who promised to be their Portion: But these, who are no more of *Levi* his Kindred, than the *Great Turk*, alluring unto their Ways, not much unlike the *Jesuits*, or rather *Romulus*, such of all Nations who are fittest for their Turns, by Tricks and Shifts, seducing whom they can, through a Pretence of superstitious Zeal, lay Claim, rob, and run away with the fifth Part of all their Neighbours Goods; wherein notwithstanding, they have so little Trust, and less Confidence in God's Promise, which was to be a Portion unto the *Israelitish Levites*, in whom there was no Guile, that they lay up, hoard and purchase, as if they knew their Posterity were Bastards, and not to be provided for, neither by Tithes, nor God's Providence. And,

3. WHEREAS the true *Levites* were to give for a Heave-Offering, unto the High-Priest of the Family of *Aaron*, one Tenth of all their Tithes; our *English Levites*, since their High-Priest and Head, the Pope, was banished out of *England*, pretend to pay (when they cannot avoid it, for they are slow enough in Payments) unto the King, I know not what First-fruits instead thereof; and indeed they made him so far forth their High-Priest to bear their Iniquities, that whatever they have of late been questioned for, they cast upon his Back.

I know the common Scarecrow and Objection which is made against an unsettled Maintenance,
to wit,

to wit; that most Men are so backward to all good Duties, especially in Matter of Expence, that if they be not both rated and compelled to pay, they will not pay at all, or not their Shares proportionably; And if there be not both a certain and a round Allowance, such as have hitherto apply'd themselves to study for Service of the Church, will grow discouraged, betake themselves to other Callings, and by this Means the Gospel become contemptible, through Want of an able and learned Ministry: To this I answer, that it is evident by Experience, that such Ministers of the Congregational Way, as have good Parts, and are conscionable in their Callings, although they leave every one of their Congregation to contribute as God has enabled them, according to the Purpose of their own Hearts, not grudgingly, which was *Paul's* Rule, 2 Cor. ix. 5. I say, that such have a Maintenance equal (if not exceeding) to what the Tithes produced in the Bishop's Times, or may do again hereafter, if they were to be continued. *Secondly*, for such as will not put themselves to study for the Churches Service, unless they be encouraged by Maintenance, I say, they are guilty of a Sin surpassing Simony, a nameless Sin, a Sin so infamous, as none were found in the Gospel-Time so vile and desperate to commit it, and give Occasion unto a Law at once expressly both to name it and condemn it: *Simon Magus* his Sin was not so great as theirs, he would have bought the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; these Men would sell them if they had them: *Simon Magus* thought so well of the Holy Ghost, that he would have purchased it with Money, *Acts* viii. 18, 19. But these Sons of Covetousness are so basely sordid, that they will not accept of it *gratis*, unless they may, at the same Time, have a Grant,

Grant, a Monopoly, to impose the counterfeit Gifts thereof upon the People, at an enhanced, overgrown, excised Rate. *Thirdly*, Such Men do plainly by their Practice *declare* to all the World, that there is no Difference between the Calling of such Hackney Ministers, and the Calling of a Merchant, Cobler, or any Handicraftsman; but that it is *indifferent*, and *all alike*, free for every one to betake himself to which of them he pleases, and thinks will prove most gainfome and beneficial to him: And lastly, if *Tithes* be the Clergies Due by Divine Right, as is determined by that great Casuist of the Assembly, Dr. *Burges*, with sundry others of the same Coat; then are all the Lay-Men of *England* highly guilty of Sacrilege, who withhold them by Impropriations: But if by a meer humane, a Parliamentary Law only, they lay Claim unto them, then may it the better be repealed, since it so much intrenches upon the Subjects Propriety in general, and upon the most tender Consciences of many in particular.

AND when they are admonished to labour with their Hands from *Paul's* Example, rather than be chargeable unto the People, 1 *Thess.* ii. 9. they answer, that though *Paul* did labour, yet it was of his own good Will and Curtesie, there was no Obligation for it, and seek to prove it by those Words of *Paul*, where he says, 1 *Cor.* ix. 6. have not *Paul* and *Barnabas* a Power, as well as the other Apostles, to forbear working? To which I reply, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had the same Power to forbear working, which the Brethren had to forbear giving them Maintenance: The one could not be compell'd to work, neither might the other be forced to set Meat and Drink before them, or any others, much less, if they were Persons addicted to Idleness.

BUT

BUT I presume it will not be pleaded in *Paul's* Behalf, that he, or any Body else, might lawfully pass their Time in Idleness, especially since we find, that *Paul's* express Command unto the *Theſſalonians*, was, that *if any would not work, he should not eat*, 2 Theſſ. iii. 10. So neither is it pretended, that Christians may lawfully refuse administering to the Necessities of their Brethren, especially, of such as teach them spiritual Things.

2. *Paul* cannot be said to require any other Power of forbearing to work, than what the other Apostles had, or made Use of ; and we may not imagine of them, that they were idly given ; doubtless they omitted no Opportunity of employing their Time, as might be most advantageous and edifying unto the Brethren, and upon this Supposition they were to spend the whole Day, even all their Days, between providing for their Livelihood, their Health, and the Propagation of the Gospel : Now, besides moderate Recreation, Meat and Drink was necessary for keeping them alive, which they must have got by labouring with their Hands, or else have been supplied therewith from the Brethren ; if the Brethren did supply *Paul* with Food and Rayment, then might he have forborn to work, as he insinuates, 1 Cor. ix. 6. but then he must have spent so much more Time with labouring in the Word and Doctrine, 1 Tim. v. 17. for he must not have been idle, as was said before ; but by *Paul's* Practice, 'tis evident he might not forbear working, when his receiving Maintenance, would have proved chargeable to the Brethren.

BUT to conclude, our Saviour, at erecting of the Gospel-Ministry, left his Disciples, being ignorant how to demean themselves, should go about to carve their own Maintenance ; when he first

first sent them out to preach the Gospel, he charges them expressly, saying, FREELY YOU HAVE RECEIVED, FREELY GIVE, *Mat. x. 8.* Then, that they might not rest any ways perplexed through Fear of Want, as such who might apprehend themselves altogether unprovided of Necessaries, he bids them *eat such Things as were set before them,* Luke x. 8. And that they, and their Successors in the Ministry of the Gospel, might be the better induced to rely upon the same Providence ever after, being returned from their Ministry, he asks them, saying, *When I sent you without Purse and Scrip, and Shoes, wanted ye any Thing? And they said, we wanted nothing,* Luke xxii. 35. whereunto I will only add, that for those who now term themselves *Ministers*, and will not be contented with such Wages and Maintenance as Christ appointed them, it is more than suspicious that they have no Share nor Portion, neither in the Apostles Faith, Ministry nor Gospel.

IN the Year 1646, there was a Treatise printed with the following Title, *The Inditement of Tithes of several criminal Articles, against the unjust Exaction of Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, &c. Exhibited before the Right Honourable Thomas Adams, Lord Major of the City of London, by divers Citizens, upon the 16th of February, An. Dom. 1645.* It begins thus,

WHEREAS divers honest and conscientious Persons, of the Parish of *All-Hallows Barking*, and of *Bride's Parish, London*, being convened before the Lord Major of the said City, for the Non-payment of *Tithes* to their Parish Parsons; the Lord Major was pleased at last to permit them Freedom for Delivery of their Reasons in Writing, for his better Judgment in the Equity of their Cause

Cause, the which they answerably prepared, and presented his Lordship with, upon *Monday* the 16th of *February*, 1645, his Honour being then, with two Counsellors and a Sergeant at Law, sat for the final Determination of that Matter, betwixt the *Citizens* and the *Parish-Priests*; the Defendant *Citizens*, having for their Part, Mr. *John Norbury* for Counsel, to plead the Law of the Land; who after some short Debate, made it appear, that there is no binding Statute, Law, or Act of Parliament at all extant, for the *Payment of Tithes*, or any Thing else to the *Parish-Parsons* of the City of *London*, and that what hath been forced from the Inhabitants, since the 37th Year of King *Hen.* the 8th, hath been against Law, and consequently, that the Lord Major hath no Power to compel any to the Payment thereof, but at his own Peril; whatsoever formerly to the contrary, hath been arbitrarily practised; as by a Copy of a Certificate from the Chappel of the *Rolls* in *Chancery*, he made it appear; a true Copy whereof, I shall present the Reader with.

‘ I have made Search amongst the Records remaining in the Chappel of the *Rolls*, for the enrollment of a *Decree*, pretended to be made between the Major, Aldermen and Inhabitants of the City of *London*, and the Clergy of the said City, in the thirty seventh Year of the Reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King *Hen.* the 8th, touching the Payment of *Tithes* in *London*; but I cannot find any such Decree remaining upon Record, as aforesaid.

February the 16th,
Anno 1645.

John Claydon.

To the Right Honourable, the Lord Major
of the City of London.

Reasons given by some of the Inhabitants of All-Hallows Barking Parish, London, demonstrating, that Tithes or inforced Maintenance for Ministers, in the Time of the Gospel, ought not to be paid.

THAT forasmuch as we are convented before your Lordship, for refusing to pay *Tithes* to Mr. *Thomas Clandon*, the Cause being of great Concernment to the generality of this City: We conceive it our Duty, to give true Information to your Honour, of the Reasons and Grounds of our so refusing.

I. WE humbly conceive, that *Tithes* and *Circumcision* were to cease, and have an End at the Coming of our Saviour CHRIST; because the Law, that is, the *Levitical Law*, whereof *Tithes* is a Branch, was but until *John the Baptist*, but then to receive a Change of the Priesthood and Office of the Law, *Heb. vii. 12.* and where it hath been said, *That Abraham paid Tithes before the Law*; and that thereby it appeareth, that *Tithes* are not Ceremonial, but Moral, and by Consequence Perpetual, and due under the Gospel; We answer, That *Abraham* was also circumcised before the Law: Yet the Apostle saith, *if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing*: And no Doubt, if any in the Apostles Times, had been so weak in the Knowledge of the Gospel, as to have been inclinable to the paying of *Tithes* (whereof there is no Appearance in their Writings) the same Apostle would have said, if ye continue to pay *Tithes*, ye are under the Law, and not under Grace: You are bound to keep the whole Law, and Christ shall profit you nothing.

2. WE

2. WE do not know of any Place in the New-Testament, that commandeth the Payment of *Tithes*; nor that either the Apostles or Disciples required the same, or pretended a Right thereunto, or unto any other set Maintenance; but on the contrary, (how strange soever it is made by some that would be thought their Successors) *Paul*, the Elect Vessel and Apostle of the *Gentiles*, rejoiceth, in the Presence of his Brethren and Fellow-Labourers, saying, in *Acts* 20. 33. *I have coveted no Man's Silver or Gold, or Raiment, yea,* vers. 34. *You your selves know, that these Hands have ministred to my Necessities, and to them that were with me.* Vers. 35. *I have shewed you all Things, how that so labouring, ye ought to support the Weak;* and to remember the Words of the Lord *Jesus*, how he said, *it is more blessed to give than to receive*: Nevertheless, we have not so learned *Christ*, to think it a great Thing, that those should reap our *Carnal Things*, that have sown unto us *Spiritual Things*; but such unto us is not *Mr. Clandon*, who hath sown unto us *Strife, Trouble and Debate*, endeavouring to enforce Maintenance from us, under the Pretence of *Tithes*, (though we do not acknowledge him either our Minister, or a Minister sent of *CHRIST*) quite contrary to the Example of that blessed Apostle: The *Labourer*, we acknowledge, *is worthy of his Hire*; but we have not contracted any Thing with him, and that those *that preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel*: nor can we doubt, that those who preach the same in Sincerity and singleness of Heart, shall ever want a competent Livelihood, from such as receive Comfort by their Ministry; but *having Food and Rayment*, they ought therewith to be content: He that hath this World's Goods, and seeth such a Brother lack, and shutteth up

up his Bowels of Compassion towards him, we conceive, the Love of God is not in him; but such unto us is not Mr. *Clandon*; nor is it likely, he is in Want, having two Benefices, &c.

3. *Tithes*, *Offerings*, &c. being contrary to sound Doctrine, and the *Power of Godliness*, tho' the Law of the Land should require the same, we conceive our selves, and all others, bound in Conscience, and by our *Covenant*, to endeavour the *Extirpation thereof*; and cannot, without wilful Sin, submit thereunto.

4. WHEREAS it hath been suggested unto your Honour, that we refuse to pay *Tithes*, out of a covetous Desire to hold our Monies: Our known Freeness, on all publick good Occasions, will (we doubt not) perswade the contrary; also, may it please your Lordship to consider, that we are not singular, but that there are Thousands well-affected People, in and about this City, of the same Judgment with us, many whereof, are approved Scholars, and learned Divines.

5. WHEREAS it hath been suggested, that the People that refuse to pay *Tithes*, &c. do intend to overthrow all Government, and all Magistracy in the City: When your Honour shall call to Mind their constant Obedience (in all lawful Things) to lawful Authority; and with what Firmness they have adhered to the Parliament: We trust it will appear a meer groundless and scandalous Accusation, devised on Purpose to make them odious to Authority.

6. WHEREAS it may be pleaded, That *Tithes* in *London* are due by Law made in Parliament: May it please your Lordship, to take into Consideration, what an over-ruling hand King *Henry* the 8th, and his *Privy-Council*, did bear over the Parliaments of that Time, which, as it appeareth

in other Things, so especially in this of *Tithes*, in *Anno* 37 of his Reign, prevailing so far as to induce that Parliament, to delegate their Power in a Matter of so great Concernment, to the then Arch-Bishop, and other Lords and Knights; Enacting, that whatsoever they should decree therein, should bind all the *Citizens* for ever: An unheard of Strain of Parliament, to confirm (with Reverence we speak it) they know not what. And which to this Day, hath had no other Confirmation: In which Decree, we pray your Lordship to observe the Ignorance and Superstition of that Age, that followed the Steps of their erroneous Predecessors, both in Episcopacy and *Tithes*, without comparing them to the Word of God: also the unequal Dealing of those entrusted, providing, that great Men's dwelling-Houses should be free from *Tithes*, whereby it may appear, this Decree or Law for *Tithes*, (if it deserve to be so called) is not so valid or reasonable, as is generally conceived; and however ought not to be pleaded, or to stand in Force against the Word and Mind of God. *

As

* Statutes of Princes are no Excuse to transgress God's Law; God cannot be confined, restrained, or concluded by any Parliament. Let no Man therefore think, that he hath *Right to Tythes*, because the Law of Man hath given them to him; for the Law of Man can give him no more than the Law of God will permit. The Law of Man may give a Man *jus ad Rem*, *Right to a Thing*, as to demand it, or to defend it against another Man; but it cannot give him *jus in re*, *Right in the Thing*, to claim it in *Right* against or without the Law of God. *Right to the Thing* is a lame Title; they must have *Right* in it, that will have a *perfect Title*. The Law may make a Man the *Possessor* or *Enjoyer* of a Thing; but it cannot make him the very *Owner* of the Thing. The

Books

An Answer given to the Lord Major of the City of London, concerning Tythes, by Nicholas Waterfon.

Right Honourable,

BEING ordered by your Lordship, to give Answer concerning paying and not paying of *Tithes*, my humble Answer is, *That as yet I dare not pay them for these Reasons.*

1. BECAUSE the paying of *Tithes*, is a Submission unto *Jewish* Bondage; the Law of *Tithing*, being known to be a Part of that ceremonial Law, and Yoke of Bondage, which was laid upon *Israel* after the *Flesh*, to be observed and born by them in the Land of *Canaan*; and we are now commanded to stand fast in the Liberty, *wherewith* CHRIST hath made us free, and not to be entangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. *Gal. v. 1.*

2. BECAUSE the requiring, and paying of *Tithes*, is an implicate denying that *Christ* is come in the *Flesh*. For if there be not a Change of the Law, then the Priesthood of *Aaron* remains, *Heb. vii. 12.* And if that Priesthood remain, then CHRIST is not yet come. The Law was our

G 2

School-Master

Books of the Law themselves confess, * That all Prescriptions, Statutes and Customs against the Law of Nature, or of God, be void, and against Justice.

* Doctor and Student, Dial. 1. ch. 2. The Law of Nature specially consider'd, which is also called the Law of Reason, pertaineth only to Creatures reasonable, that is, Man, which is created to the Image of God. And this Law ought to be kept as well among Jews and Gentiles, as among Christian Men. And therefore against this Law, Prescription, Statute nor Custom, may not prevail: And if any be brought in against it, they be not Prescriptions, Statutes nor Customs, but Things void and against Justice.

School-Master unto CHRIST, and after that Faith is come, we are no longer under a School-Master. Gal. iii. 24, 25. If we must still be in Bondage under the Elements of the World, then God hath not yet sent forth his Son, as appears in Gal. iv. 3, 4, 5.

3. BECAUSE the Doctrine, that *Tithes* ought to be paid to the Priests, or Presbyters, or Clergy, is a popish Doctrine, inasmuch as it hath been devised and maintained by the Pope and his Prelates, and is contrary to the Doctrine of the Scriptures; and those Congregations, which are called *Reformed Churches*, are known to oppose the Pope and the Prelates, by the Authority of the Scriptures, in this their false Doctrine.

4. BECAUSE the Payment of *Tithes*, or any Thing in Lieu of *Tithes*, doth and will support Popish and Prelatical Iniquity; this being the strongest Motive to the Priests (or Presbyters) to hold up *Babylon*, by jumbling the World and the Church together, and so to dishonour God, and do Service unto *Satan*, keeping God's People still in *Babylon*; because they hope, by this Means, to have larger Maintenance; compelling all those whom they call the Church, to pay *Tithes* unto them.

Reasons given by Thomas Bennet, another of the said Parish, concerning the unjust Exaction of Tithes.

To the Right Honourable Thomas Adams, Lord Major of the City of London, Feb. 16th, Ann. Dom. 1645.

Right Honourable,

WHEREAS I have been these thirteen Times commanded before your Honour, and your Lordship's Predecessors, for the Denial

of *Tithes*, and now at length you have been pleased to permit me Freedom to deliver in mine *Answer* in Writing: I have therefore presumed, from your Lordship's Permission, to present your Honour with these ensuing *Reasons*.

1. *My Lord*, If *Tithes* under the Gospel be an Ordinance, then they must be of an Evangelical Institution, even from the Command of Christ, as well as other Gospel Ordinances: But we find no other Ordinance for the Exaction of *Tithes* now, but a bare *Mosaical* Ordinance. Therefore *Tithes* are no Gospel Ordinance.

2. *My Lord*, *Tithes* were never ordained, but for the Wages of Typical Services; therefore to continue the Wages of such Work, cannot in Equity be without the Continuance of the Work: which is a flat Denial of *Christ's Coming in the Flesh*.

3. *My Lord*, Those that had the Commandment for *Tithes*, were only to receive them of their Brethren, *Heb. vii. 5.* that is, of the other twelve Tribes; therefore not of the *Gentiles*; nor were *Gentiles*, by that Command, bound thereto; and if not in *Moses* his Time, much less now.

4. *My Lord*, They were imposed upon the Land of *Canaan*, therefore not upon *England* or *English-Men*, being no Part of *Canaan*, or the People any of the twelve Tribes. And the *Jews* to this Day terminate the Equity of *Tithes* to their own Land, as *Mr. Selden*, a Member of the House of Commons, writeth in his History of *Tithes*.

5. *My Lord*, When the Law of *Tithes* was in Force, it was only of the Seed of the Ground, the Fruit of the Trees, and of Four-footed Beasts, *Levit. xxvii. 30, 32.* Therefore the Tithe of our Pullen, as of *Goslings*, *Chickens*, &c. which have but two Feet apiece, and cannot be reputed to be

of the Herd or Flock, that passed under the Rod: Nor any Tithe of Houses, which neither grow, nor bring forth Seed, can be concluded from the Law of Tithes.

6. *My Lord*, The *Levites* paid the Tenth of their *Tithe* to *Aaron* the Priest. *Num.* xviii. 26, 27, 28, 29. yea, the Fatherless, Widow and Stranger, were ranked with the *Levite*, for the *Maintenance of Tithes*, *Deut.* xiv. 29. xxvi. 12. and were to eat, and to be satisfied therewith: Therefore from their Example, our Clergy unjustly exact the whole *Tithes* to themselves.

7. THE Laity offered the First-fruits unto the Priests, in Ears of Wheat, Barley, &c. in what Quantity the Owner would, *Exod.* xxiii. 19. *Deut.* xviii. 4. Therefore from their Example, there can be no Exaction of this or that Quantity.

8. *My Lord*, They as well, from the Example of *Moses* his Priests, may take *Tithe* of our Children; for the First-born, whether of Man or Beast, fell to the Priest, *Numb.* xviii. 15. So that if our Clergy will have those Priests to be their Example, then every Male that first openeth the Matrix, is due unto the Clergy. And I suppose, they would exact it, had they but Power to impose *Redemption Money* upon them, the Value of five *Shekels*, after the *Shekel* of the Sanctuary, which is twenty *Gerahs*, upon every First-born Male, as *Moses's* Priests had.

9. *My Lord*, When the Law of *Tithes* was in Force, there was no Compulsion used for them, or did *Moses* give any Commission to the *Levites* to exact them by Force: The Lord only sent his Prophets to complain against them that did not pay them. *Mal.* iii. 9, 10. *Neb.* xiii. 10, 11, 12.

10. *My Lord*, The Priesthood and Commandment is changed, and One of another Tribe, even
of

of the Tribe of *Judab*, of which *Moses* spake nothing concerning the Priesthood ; no not so much as to receive *Tithes*, Heb. vii. 11. Therefore, to speak that of the Ministry of our Lord, which sprung from *Judab*, which was spoken of the Tribe of *Aaron*, whereof *Tithes* were one main Thing, is to make our Lord to be of the Tribe of *Aaron*.

II. *My Lord*, All the Supply, which the Gospel ordaineth, is a First-day Collection, or voluntary Contribution to the Necessities of the poor Saints, 1 Cor. xvi. 2. 2 Cor. ix. 1, 5, 7.

12. *My Lord*, An Elder of a Church cannot lay Claim to any Supply barely by Virtue of Eldership, no more than a Saint by Virtue of Saintship, but both simply as poor Saints. For Evangelical Supply was only devoted to Necessity : The *Poor Man's-Box*, was the Inheritance or Portion of the poor Saints, whether Elders, or other Members.

13. It is to be acknowledged as a Gift or Cur-
tesy, * 2 Cor. viii. 4. Phil. iv. 17. But to exact by
G 4 Compulsion

* As the Gospel itself in its own Nature, is *equally free* in all Ages, and the Ministers of the Gospel are so too, in Respect of its Publication (so as not to preach the Gospel because human Laws command, nor to forbear to preach it because human Laws forbid) so ought the Gospel Maintenance also, or the Maintenance of this Gospel Ministry, to be in all Ages *equally free*; else it is not suitable to the Ministry, and the Gospel to which it appertains. And whensoever it *ceases to be free*, by the interposed Injunctions of penal Laws, it thencesforth *ceases to be a Gospel Maintenance*. Now if we should suppose *Tithes* a lawful Maintenance, and that the Donation of them was an Act of pure Liberality and perfect Freedom in the first Donors (which universally consider'd, is far enough from Probability) and upon that Supposition should admit *Tithes* to have been then a free Maintenance; yet the settling of them as a standing Maintenance,

Compulsion, is contrary so the Nature of Curtesy ; that were of Violence, not of Gift.

14. ALL that Christ ordained the twelve, and the seventy, which he sent out, to take, was but *to eat and to drink such Things as were set before them* ; making that to be all his Labourers *should account themselves worthy of*. Luk. x. 7, 8.

15. *My Lord*, It is unreasonable for a Shepherd to exact the Milk of that Flock, which he doth not feed ; for the Flock which he feedeth, is the Flock of whose Milk he must eat, 1 Cor. ix. 7. therefore the Clergy-Shepherds may not exact the Milk of the Flocks that are not fed by them.

16. *My Lord*, No Payment of *Tithes* was ordained in Christian Churches (as *Selden* observeth) till the general Council at Lateran, An. 1215. Therefore the ORDINANCE of Tithes under the Gospel, deriving its Being and Institution, from the Injunctions of the Pope and his Council, doth subject us to the Dictates of the See of Rome, against which, we are all engaged by our former Protestations, and by our solemn League and Covenant. And tho' these *Tithes* should be granted not to be the *Root*, yet they cannot but be concluded to be a *main Branch* of Popery, being not of Christ's but of the Pope's own Ordinance ; therefore by our Covenant to be extirpated.

By

and compelling after Ages by *Penalties* to pay them, makes them *not now a free Maintenance*, if they had been so then ; but the true Gospel Maintenance ought to be free in its Continuation, as well as in its Beginning ; and *Christians* now may justly expect as much Christian Liberty and Freedom as others in former Ages had, which *they* do not enjoy, who now stand bound to the Performance of that which *others* were at Liberty to.

By what is produced, the Reader may gather how great the Uneasiness was, which the Ordinance of Parliament respecting Tythes, Oblations, &c. occasion'd; and this Uneasiness increasing more and more, by the Sufferings of *many* in divers Parts of the Nation, who could not in Conscience comply with that Ordinance; at last *John Milton* undertook their Defence, in a Treatise intitl'd, *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church. Wherein is also discours'd of Tythes, Church-Fees, Church-Revenues; and whether any Maintenance of Ministers can be settled by Law.* This he address'd to the Parliament of the *Common-wealth of England*, with the *Dominions* thereof: Printed and publish'd in the Year 1659. Some of his Arguments against Tythes, are as follows.

‘ WHAT Recompence ought to be given to
 ‘ Church-Ministers God hath answerably ordain’d, according to that Difference which he
 ‘ hath manifestly put between those His two great
 ‘ Dispensations, the *Law* and the *Gospel*. Under
 ‘ the *Law* he gave them *Tythes*; under the *Gospel*,
 ‘ having left all Things in his Church to Charity
 ‘ and Christian Freedom, he hath given them
 ‘ only what is justly given them; *That*, as well
 ‘ under the *Gospel* as under the *Law*, say our *English*
 ‘ Divines, and they only of all Protestants,
 ‘ is *Tythes*; and they say true, if any Man be so
 ‘ minded to give them of his own the Tenth or
 ‘ Twentieth: But that the *Law* therefore of *Tythes*
 ‘ is in Force under the *Gospel*, all other Protestant
 ‘ Divines, though equally concern’d, yet constantly deny.
 ‘ For although Hire to the Labourer be of moral and perpetual Right, yet
 ‘ that special Kind of Hire, the Tenth, can be
 ‘ of no Right or Necessity, but to that special
 Labour

‘ Labour for which God ordained it: That spe-
 ‘ cial Labour was the *Levitical* and *Ceremonial*
 ‘ Service of the Tabernacle, *Numb.* xviii. 21, 31:
 ‘ which is now abolished: The Right therefore
 ‘ of that special Hire must needs be withal abo-
 ‘ lished, as being also *Ceremonial*. That Tithes
 ‘ were *Ceremonial* is plain; not being given to
 ‘ the *Levites* till they had been first offer’d an
 ‘ Heave-Offering to the Lord, *vers.* 24, 28. He
 ‘ then who by that *Law* brings Tithes into the
 ‘ *Gospel*, of Necessity brings in withal a Sacri-
 ‘ fice, and an Altar; without which Tithes by
 ‘ that *Law* were unsanctified and polluted, *vers.*
 ‘ 32. and therefore never thought on in the first
 ‘ Christian Times, till *Ceremonies*, *Altars*, and
 ‘ *Oblations*, by an ancient Corruption, were
 ‘ brought back long before. And yet the *Jews*,
 ‘ ever since their Temple was destroy’d, though
 ‘ they have *Rabbies* and *Teachers* of their *Law*,
 ‘ yet pay no *Tithes*, as having no *Levites* to whom,
 ‘ no Temple where to pay them, nor Altar
 ‘ whereon to hallow them; which argues, that
 ‘ the *Jews* themselves never thought *Tithes* Mo-
 ‘ ral, but *Ceremonial* only. That Christians
 ‘ therefore should take them up, when *Jews* have
 ‘ laid them down, must needs be very absurd
 ‘ and preposterous.

‘ THIS is so apparent to the Reformed Divines
 ‘ of other Countries, that when any of ours hath
 ‘ attempted in *Latin* to maintain this Argument
 ‘ of *Tithes*, tho’ a Man would think they might
 ‘ suffer him without Opposition, in a Point equal-
 ‘ ly tending to the Advantage of all Ministers,
 ‘ yet they forbear not to oppose him, as in a
 ‘ Doctrine not fit to pass unoppos’d under the
 ‘ Gospel. Which shews the Modesty, the Con-
 ‘ tentedness of those Foreign Pastors, with the
 ‘ Maintenance

Maintenance given them ; their Sincerity also
 in the Truth, tho' less gainful ; and the Avarice
 of ours, who, through the Love of their
 old Papistical *Tithes*, consider not the weak Arguments,
 or rather Conjectures and Surmises
 which they bring to defend them.

CERTAINLY, if Christ or his Apostles, had
 approv'd of *Tithes*, they would have either by
 Writing, or Tradition, recommended them to
 the Church : And that soon would have appear'd
 in the Practice of those Primitive, and the next
 Ages ; but for the first three Hundred Years
 and more, in all the Ecclesiastical Story, I find
 no such Doctrine or Example : Tho' Error, by
 that Time, had brought back again *Priests*,
Altars, and *Oblations* ; and in many other
 Points of Religion, had miserably Judaiz'd the
 Church. So that the Defenders of *Tithes*, after
 a long Pomp, and tedious Preparation out of
 Heathen Authors, telling us, that *Tithes* were
 paid to *Hercules* and *Apollo*, which perhaps was
 imitated from the *Jews*, and as it were bespeak-
 ing our Expectation, that they will abound
 much more with Authorities out of Christian
 Story, having nothing of general Approbation
 to begin with from the first three or four Ages,
 but that which abundantly serves to the Confu-
 tation of their *Tithes* ; while they confess that
 Church-Men in those Ages liv'd meerly upon
 Free-will Offerings. Neither can they say, that
Tithes were not then paid, for want of a Civil
 Magistrate to ordain them, for Christians had
 then also Lands, and might give out of them
 what they pleas'd ; and yet of *Tithes* then given,
 we find no Mention. And the first Christian
 Emperors, who did all Things as Bishops ad-
 vis'd them, supply'd what was wanting to the
 Clergy,

‘ *Clergy*, not out of *Tithes*, which were never
 ‘ mention’d, but out of their own Imperial Reve-
 ‘ nues, as is manifest in *Eusebius*, *Theodore* and
 ‘ *Sozomen*, from *Constantine* to *Arcadius*. Hence
 ‘ those Ancientest Reformed Churches of the *Wal-*
 ‘ *denfes*, if they rather continu’d not pure since
 ‘ the Apostles, deny’d that *Tithes* were to be
 ‘ given, or that they were ever given in the Pri-
 ‘ mitive Church, as appears by an ancient Trac-
 ‘ tate inserted in the *Bohemian History*.

‘ THUS far hath the Church been always, whe-
 ‘ ther in her Prime, or in her ancientest Refor-
 ‘ mation, from the approving of *Tithes*; nor
 ‘ without Reason; for they might easily perceive
 ‘ that *Tithes* were fitted to the *Jews* only, a Na-
 ‘ tional-Church of many incompleat Synagogues,
 ‘ uniting the Accomplishment of Divine Worship
 ‘ in one Temple; and the *Levites* there had their
 ‘ *Tithes* paid, where they did their Bodily Work,
 ‘ to which a particular Tribe was set apart by
 ‘ Divine Appointment, not by the People’s Elec-
 ‘ tion. But the Christian Church is universal,
 ‘ not ty’d to Nation, Diocess, or Parish, but
 ‘ consisting of many particular Churches com-
 ‘ pleat in themselves, gather’d, not by Compul-
 ‘ sion, or the Accident of dwelling nigh together,
 ‘ but by free Consent, chusing both their parti-
 ‘ cular Church, and their Church-Officers; where-
 ‘ as if *Tithes* be set up, all these Christian Privi-
 ‘ leges will be disturb’d, and soon lost, and with
 ‘ them Christian Liberty.

‘ THE first Authority which our Adversaries
 ‘ bring, after those fabulous Apostolick Canons,
 ‘ which they dare not insist upon, is a provincial
 ‘ Council held at *Cullen*, where they voted *Tithes*
 ‘ to be *God’s Rent*, in the Year Three Hundred
 ‘ fifty Six; at the same Time, perhaps, when
 ‘ the

the three Kings reign'd there, and of like Authority. For to what Purpose do they bring these trivial Testimonies, by which they might as well prove Altars, Candles at Noon, and the greatest Part of those Superstitions, fetch'd from *Paganism* or *Jewism*, which the *Papist*, inveig'l'd by this fond Argument of Antiquity, retains to this Day? To what Purpose those Decrees of I know not what Bishops, to a Parliament and People who have thrown out both Bishops and Altars, and promis'd all Reformation by the Word of God? And that *Altars* brought *Tithes* hither, as one Corruption begot another, is evident by one of those Questions which the Monk *Austin* propounded to the Pope, *Concerning those Things, which by Offerings of the Faithful came to the Altar*, as *Beda* writes, L. 1: c. 27. If then by these Testimonies we must have *Tithes* continued, we must again have Altars.

Of Fathers, by Custom so call'd, they quote *Ambrose*, *Augustin*, and some other Ceremonial Doctors of the same Leaven; whose Assertion, without pertinent Scripture, no Reformed Church can admit. And what they vouch, is founded on the Law of *Moses*, with which, every where pitifully mistaken, they again incorporate the Gospel; as did the rest also of those Titular Fathers, perhaps an Age or two before them, by many Rights and Ceremonies, both *Jewish* and *Heathenish* introduc'd; whereby thinking to gain all, they lost all: And instead of winning *Jews* and *Pagans*, to be Christians, by too much condescending, they turn'd Christians into *Jews* and *Pagans*. To heap such unconvincing Citations as these in Religion, whereof the Scripture only is our Rule, argues not much

‘ much Learning nor Judgment, but the lost Labour of much unprofitable Reading.

‘ THEY produce next, the Ancient Constitutions of this Land, *Saxon Laws*, Edicts of Kings, and their Councils, from *Athelston*, in the Year Nine Hundred twenty eight, that *Tithes* by Statute were paid: and might produce from *Ina*, above two Hundred Years before, that *Rome-scot*, or *Peter's Penny*, was by a good Statute-Law paid to the Pope, from seven Hundred twenty five, and almost as long continu'd. And who knows not that this Law of Tithes, was enacted by those Kings and Barons, upon the Opinion they had of their Divine Right, as the very Words import of *Edward the Confessor*, in the Close of that Law: *For so blessed Austin preach'd and taught?* meaning the Monk, who first brought the *Romish* Religion into *England* from *Gregory* the Pope. And by the Way I add, that by these *Laws*, imitating the *Law* of *Moses*, the third Part of Tithes only was the Priest's Due, the other two were appointed for the Poor, and to adorn or repair Churches; as the Canons of *Ecbert* and *Elfrick* witness. *Concil. Brit.* If then these Laws were founded upon the Opinion of Divine Authority, and that Authority be found mistaken and erroneous, as hath been fully manifested, it follows that those *Laws* fall of themselves, with their false Foundations. But with what Face of Conscience can they alledge *Moses*, or these *Laws* for Tithes, as they now enjoy, or exact them; whereof *Moses* ordains the Owner, as we heard before, the Stranger, the Fatherless and the Widow, Partakers with the *Levite*; and these Fathers which they cite, and these, tho' *Romish* rather

‘ rather than *English* Laws, allotted both to
‘ Priest and Bishop the third Part only.

‘ ANOTHER Shift they have to plead, that
‘ *Tithes* may be Moral as well as the Sabbath, a
‘ Tenth of Fruits, as well as a Seventh of Days.
‘ I answer, that the Prelates, who urge this Ar-
‘ gument, have least Reason to use it; denying
‘ Morality in the Sabbath, and therein better a-
‘ greeing with Reformed Churches abroad than
‘ the rest of our Divines. As therefore the Se-
‘ venth Day is not Moral, but a convenient Re-
‘ course of Worship in fit Season, whether Se-
‘ venth or other Number; so neither is the Tenth
‘ of our Goods, but only a convenient Subsistence
‘ morally due to Ministers.

‘ THE last, and lowest Sort of their Argu-
‘ ments, that Men purchas’d not their *Tithe* with
‘ their Land, and such like Petty-Foggery, I
‘ omit, as refuted sufficiently by others.* I o-
‘ mit also their violent and irreligious Exactions,
‘ related no less credibly: Their seizing of Pots
‘ and Pans from the *Poor*, who have as good
‘ Right to *Tithes* as they; from some, the very
‘ Beds; their suing and imprisoning, worse than
‘ when the Canon-Law was in Force; worse than
‘ when those wicked Sons of *Eli* were Priests,
‘ whose Manner was thus to seize their pretended
‘ Priestly-Due by Force, 1 *Sam.* ii. 12. &c.
‘ *Whereby Men abhor’d the Offering of the Lord*;
‘ and it may be fear’d, that many will as much
‘ abhor the Gospel, if such Violence as this be
‘ suffer’d in her Ministers, and in that which they
‘ also

* ‘Tis not unlikely but that Milton had an Eye in this Place
to our Author, who in Page 53 has answered those Arguments
or Objections.

' also pretend to be the Offering of the Lord.
 ' For those Sons of *Belial*, within some Limits
 ' made Seizure of what they knew was their own
 ' by an undoubted Law; but these, from whom
 ' there is no Sanctuary, seize out of Men's
 ' Grounds, out of Men's Houses their other
 ' Goods, of double, sometimes of treble Value,
 ' for that, which did not Covetousness and Ra-
 ' pine blind them, they know to be not their
 ' own by the Gospel which they preach. Of some
 ' more tolerable than these, thus severely God
 ' hath spoken, *Esa. lvi. 10, &c. They are greedy*
 ' *Dogs; they all look to their own Way, every one*
 ' *for his Gain, from his Quarter.*

' WITH what Anger then will he judge them
 ' who stand not looking, but under Colour of a
 ' Divine Right, fetch by Force that which is
 ' not their own, taking his Name not in vain,
 ' but in Violence? Not content, as *Gebazi* was, to
 ' make a cunning, but a constrain'd Advantage
 ' of what their Master bids them give freely; how
 ' can they but return smitten, worse than that
 ' sharking Minister, with a spiritual Leprosy?
 ' And yet they cry out *Sacrilege*, that Men will
 ' not be gull'd and baffl'd the Tenth of their
 ' Estates, by giving Credit to frivolous Preten-
 ' ces of Divine Right.

' WHERE did God ever clearly declare to all
 ' Nations, or in all Lands (and none but Fools
 ' part with their Estates, without clearest Evi-
 ' dence, on bare Supposals and Presumptions of
 ' them who are the Gainers thereby) that he re-
 ' quir'd the Tenth as due to Him or His Son per-
 ' petually, and in all Places? Where did he de-
 ' mand it, that we might certainly know, as in
 ' all Claims of Temporal Right is just and reason-
 ' able? Or if demanded, where did he assign it,
 ' or

or by what evident Conveyance, to Ministers?
 Unless they can demonstrate this by more than
 Conjectures, their Title can be no better to
Tithes, than the Title of *Gebazi* was to those
 Things, which by abusing his Master's Name,
 he rook'd from *Naaman*. Much less, where
 did he command that *Tithes* should be fetch'd
 by Force, where left not, under the Gospel;
 whatever his Right was to the Free-will Offer-
 ings of Men? Which is the greater *Sacrilege*,
 to belie Divine Authority, to make the Name
 of Christ accessory to Violence, and robbing
 him of the very Honour which he aim'd at in
 bestowing freely the Gospel, to commit *Simony*
 and *Rapin*, both secular and Ecclesiastical;
 or on the other Side, not to give up the Tenth
 of Civil Right and Propriety, to the Tricks
 and Impostures of Clergy-Men, contriv'd with
 all the Art and Argument that their Bellies can
 invent or suggest; yet so ridiculous, and pre-
 suming on the People's Dulness or Superstition,
 as to think they prove the Divine Right of their
 Maintenance, by *Abram* paying *Tithes* to *Melchisedec*,
 when as *Melchisedec*, in that Passage, rather
 gave Maintenance to *Abram*; in whom all,
 both Priests and Ministers, as well as Lay-Men,
 paid *Tithes*, not receiv'd them.

THE next Thing to be considered in the
 Maintenance of Ministers is, by whom it should
 be given. Wherein tho' the Light of Reason
 might sufficiently inform us, it will be best to
 consult the Scripture: *Gal. vi. 6. Let him that*
is taught in the Word, communicate to him that
teacheth, in all good Things, that is to say, in
all manner of Gratitude to his Ability. 1 Cor.
ix. 11. If we have sown unto you Spiritual Things,
is it a great Matter if we reap your Carnal Things?

' To whom therefore hath not been sown, from
 ' him wherefore should be reaped? 1 *Tim.* v. 17.
 ' *Let the Elders that rule well, be counted worthy*
 ' *of double Honour, especially they who labour in the*
 ' *Word and Doctrine.* By these Places we see, that
 ' Recompence was given either by every one in
 ' particular who had been instructed, or by them
 ' all in common, brought into the Church-Trea-
 ' sure, and distributed to the Ministers according
 ' to their several Labours, and that was judged
 ' either by some extraordinary Person, as *Timo-*
 ' *thy*, who by the Apostle was then left Evange-
 ' list at *Ephesus*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 5. or by some to
 ' whom the Church deputed that Care.

' THIS is so agreeable to Reason, and so clear,
 ' that one may perceive what Iniquity and Vio-
 ' lence hath prevailed since in the Church, where-
 ' by it hath been so ordered, that they also shall
 ' be compelled to recompence the Parochial Mi-
 ' nister, who neither chose him for their Teacher,
 ' nor have received Instruction from him, as be-
 ' ing either insufficient, or not resident, or infe-
 ' rior to whom they follow; wherein to bar them
 ' their Choice, is to violate Christian Liberty.

' OUR Law-Books testify, that before the
 ' Council at *Lateran*, in the Year 1179, and the
 ' Fifth of our *Hen.* 2, or rather before a Decre-
 ' tal Epistle of Pope *Innocent* the Third, about
 ' 1200, and the first of King *John*, any Man
 ' might have given his Tithes to what Spiritual Per-
 ' son he would. And, as the Lord *Coke* notes on
 ' that Place, *Instit.* Part. 2. that this Decretal
 ' bound not the Subjects of this Realm, but, as it
 ' seemed just and reasonable. The Pope took his
 ' Reason rightly from the above cited Place,
 ' 1 *Cor.* ix. 11. but falsely suppos'd every one to
 ' be-instructed by his Parish-Priest.

' WHETHER

' WHETHER this were then first so decreed, or
 ' rather long before, as may be seen by the Laws
 ' of *Edgar* and *Canute*, that *Tithes* were to be
 ' paid, not to whom he would that paid them,
 ' but to the Cathedral-Church, or the Parish-
 ' Priest, it imports not; since the Reason which
 ' they themselves bring, built on false Suppositi-
 ' on, becomes alike infirm and absurd, that he
 ' should reap from me, who sows not to me; be
 ' the Cause either his Defect, or my free Choice.
 ' But here it will be readily objected, What if
 ' they who are to be instructed, be not able to
 ' maintain a Minister, as in many Villages? I
 ' answer, that the Scripture shews in many Pla-
 ' ces what ought to be done herein. *First*, I of-
 ' fer it to the Reason of any Man, whether he
 ' think the Knowledge of the Christian Religion
 ' harder than any other Art or Science to obtain.
 ' I suppose he will grant that it is far easier,
 ' both of it self, and in Regard of God's *assisting*
 ' *Spirit*, not particularly promised us to the At-
 ' tainment of any other Knowledge, but of this
 ' only: Since it was preached as well to the Shep-
 ' herds of *Bethlem* by Angels, as to the Eastern
 ' Wisemen by that Star; and our Saviour de-
 ' clares himself anointed to preach the Gospel to
 ' the Poor, *Luk. iv. 18.* then surely to their Ca-
 ' pacity. They who after him first taught it,
 ' were otherwise unlearned Men: They who
 ' before *Hus* and *Luther* first reformed it, were
 ' for the Meanness of their Condition, called, *The*
 ' *poor Men of Lyons*; and in *Flanders* at this Day,
 ' *les Gueus*, which is to say, *Beggars*. Therefore
 ' are the Scriptures translated into every vulgar
 ' Tongue, as being held in main Matters of Be-
 ' lief and Salvation, plain and easy to the Poorest;
 ' and such, no less than their Teachers, have the

‘ *Spirit* to guide them in all Truth, *John* xiv. 26.
 ‘ and xvi. 13.

‘ SEEING then that the Christian Religion may
 ‘ be so easily attained, and by meanest Capacities,
 ‘ it cannot be much difficult to find Ways,
 ‘ both how the Poor, yea, all Men may be soon
 ‘ taught what is to be known of Christianity, and
 ‘ they who teach them recompenced. *First*, if
 ‘ Ministers of their own Accord, who pretend
 ‘ that they are called and sent to preach the Gospel,
 ‘ those who have no particular Flock, would
 ‘ imitate our Saviour and his Disciples, who went
 ‘ preaching through the Villages, not only thro’
 ‘ the Cities, *Mat.* ix. 35. *Mark* vi. 6. *Luk.* xiii.
 ‘ 22. *Acts.* viii. 25. and there preached to the
 ‘ Poor as well as to the Rich, looking for no Re-
 ‘ compence but in Heaven; *John* iv. 35, 36.
 ‘ *Look on the Fields; for they are white already to*
 ‘ *Harvest: And he that reapeth, receiveth Wages,*
 ‘ *and gathereth Fruit unto Life Eternal.* THIS
 ‘ WAS THEIR WAGES. But they soon will reply,
 ‘ we our selves have not wherewithal; who shall
 ‘ bear the Charges of our Journey? To whom it
 ‘ may as soon be answered, that in Likelihood
 ‘ they are not poorer than they who did thus; and
 ‘ if they have not the same Faith which those Disciples
 ‘ had, to trust in God and the Promise
 ‘ of Christ for their Maintenance, as they did,
 ‘ and yet intrude into the Ministry without any
 ‘ Livelihood of their own, they cast themselves
 ‘ into a miserable Hazard or Temptation, and
 ‘ oft-times into a more miserable Necessity, ei-
 ‘ ther to starve, or to please their Pay-Masters
 ‘ rather than God: And give Men just Cause to
 ‘ suspect, that they came neither called nor
 ‘ sent from above to preach the Word, but from
 ‘ below

below, by the Instinct of their own Hunger to feed upon the Church.

‘ St. Paul, tho’ born of no mean Parents, a free Citizen of the *Roman* Empire, so little did his Trade debase him, that it rather enabled him to use that * Magnanimity of Preaching the Gospel through *Asia* and *Europe* at his own Charges: Thus those Preachers among the *Waldenses*, the ancient Stock of our Reformation, without these Helps which I speak of, bred up themselves in Trades, and especially in *Physick* and *Surgery*, as well as in the Study of *Scripture* (which is the only true Theology) that they might be no Burden to the Church; and by the Example of Christ, might cure both Soul and Body; through Industry, joining that to their Ministry, which he join’d to his by Gift of the Spirit. Thus relates *Peter Gilles* in his History of the *Waldenses* in *Piemont*. But our Ministers think Scorn to use a Trade, and count it the Reproach of this Age, that Tradesmen preach the Gospel. It were to be wish’d they were all Tradesmen; they would not then so many of them, for Want of another Trade, make a Trade of their Preaching: And yet they clamour that Tradesmen preach; and yet they preach, while they themselves are the worst Tradesmen of all. As for *Church-Endowments* and *Possessions*, I meet with none considerable before *Constantine*, but the Houses and Gardens

H 3

‘ where

* What Milton calls Magnanimity of Preaching, John Locke takes to be the Glorifying which the Apostle speaks of in 1 Cor. ix. 15. for it were better for me to die, than that any Man should make my Glorifying void. *J. Locke’s Paraphrase*, For I had rather perish for Want, than be depriv’d of what I glory in, viz. *Preaching the Gospel freely*.

' where they met, and the Places of Burial : And
 ' I perswade me, that from them the ancient
 ' *Waldenses*, whom deservedly I cite so often,
 ' held, *that to endow Churches is an evil Thing* ;
 ' and, that the Church then fell off and turn'd
 ' Whore sitting on that Beast in the *Revelation*,
 ' when under Pope *Sylvester* she receiv'd those
 ' temporal Donations. So the forecited Tractate
 ' of their Doctrine testifies.

' THIS also their own Traditions of that hea-
 ' venly Voice witnessed, and some of the ancient
 ' Father ~~men~~ living foresaw and deplored. And
 ' indeed, how could these Endowments thrive
 ' better with the Church, being unjustly taken
 ' by those Emperors, without Suffrage of the
 ' People, out of the Tributes and publick Lands
 ' of each City, whereby the People became liable
 ' to be oppress'd with other Taxes. Being there-
 ' fore given for the most Part by Kings and other
 ' publick Persons, and so likeliest out of the Pub-
 ' lick, and if without the Peoples Consent, un-
 ' justly ; however to publick Ends of much Con-
 ' cernment to the Good or Evil of a Common-
 ' Wealth, and in that Regard made publick,
 ' tho' given by private Persons ; or which is worse,
 ' given, as the Clergy then perswaded Men, for
 ' their Soul's Health, a pious Gift, but as the
 ' Truth was, oft-times a Bribe to God, or to
 ' Christ for Absolution, as they were then taught,
 ' from Murders, Adulteries, and other heinous
 ' Crimes ; what shall be found heretofore given by
 ' Kings or Princes out of the Publick, may justly
 ' by the Magistrate be recalled and reappropriated
 ' to the Civil Revenue : What by private or pub-
 ' lick Persons out of their own, the Price of
 ' Blood or Lust, or to some such Purgatorious
 ' or Superstitious Uses, not only may, but ought
 ' to

' to be taken off from Christ, as a foul Dishonour
 ' laid upon Him ; or not impiously given, nor
 ' in particular to any one, but in general to the
 ' Church's Good, may be converted to that
 ' Use, which shall be judg'd more directly to
 ' that general End. Thus did the Princes and Ci-
 ' ties of *Germany* in the first Reformation ; and de-
 ' fended their so doing by many Reasons, which
 ' are set down at large in *Sleidan*, l. 6. *Ann.* 1526,
 ' and l. 11. *Ann.* 1537, and l. 13. *Ann.* 1540.
 ' But that the Magistrate either out of that Church
 ' Revenue which remains yet in his Hand, or
 ' establishing any other Maintenance instead of
 ' *Tithe*, should take into his own Power the Sti-
 ' pendary Maintenance of Church-Ministers, or
 ' compel it by Law, can stand neither with the
 ' *People's Right*, nor with *Christian Liberty*, but
 ' would suspend the Church wholly upon the
 ' State, and turn her Ministers into State-Pensi-
 ' oners.

' BUT to proceed farther in the Truth yet more
 ' freely ; seeing the Christian Church is not Na-
 ' tional, but consisting of many particular
 ' Congregations, subject to many Changes, as
 ' well through Civil Accidents as through Schism
 ' and various Opinions, not to be decided by any
 ' outward Judge, being Matters of Conscience,
 ' whereby these pretended Church Revenues, as
 ' they have been ever, so are like to continue
 ' endless Matter of Dissention both between the
 ' Church and Magistrate, and the Churches a-
 ' mong themselves, there will be found no better
 ' Remedy to these Evils, otherwise incurable,
 ' than by the incorruptest Counsel of those *Wal-*
 ' *denses*, our first Reformers, to remove them as
 ' a Pest, an Apple of Discord in the Church,
 ' (for what else can be the Effect of Riches, and

‘ the Snare of Money in Religion?) and to convert them to those more profitable Uses above expressed, or other such as shall be judg’d most necessary; considering, that the Church of Christ was founded in Poverty rather than in Revenues, stood purest, and prospered best without them, receiv’d them unlawfully from them, who both erroneously and unjustly, sometimes impiously, gave them, and so justly was ensnared and corrupted by them.

‘ AND lest it be thought that these Revenues withdrawn and better employed, the Magistrate ought instead to settle by *Statute* some Maintenance of Ministers, let this be consider’d *first*, That it concerns every Man’s Conscience to what Religion he contributes; and that the Civil Magistrate is intrusted with Civil Rights only, not with Conscience, which can have no Deputy or Representer of it self, but only of the same Mind. *

‘ *Next*

* This Argument of *Milton’s* may be carried farther, thus, In a State of Nature, none had a Right to oblige others to the support of a Religion they judg’d was displeasing to God: And none upon the entering into Civil Society, or Bodies Politick, could be suppos’d to be willing to empower the Magistrate to oblige them to bestow their Labour, or give any Part of their Property for the Maintenance of a Religion they thought God disliked; on the contrary, their entering into Society was to be protected from this as well as any other Imposition. And,

If it be unlawful for a private Person to promote a Religion, by doing of which they think they should offend God; how can it be lawful for the Magistrate, either directly or indirectly to compel them to it.

If the Magistrate has no Right to deprive People of what they gain by their Labour and Industry for not being of his Religion, we should be glad to know, how he comes to have a Right to compel them to do this for the Maintenance of his Religion.

If

‘ Next, that what each Man gives to the Minister, he gives either as to God, or as to his Teacher ; if as to God, no Civil Power can justly consecrate to religious Uses any Part either of Civil Revenue, which is the People’s, and must save them from other Taxes, or of any Man’s Propriety, but God by special Command, as he did by *Moses*, or the Owner himself by voluntary Intention, and the Perswasion of his giving it to God : Forc’d Consecrations out of another Man’s Estate, are no better than forc’d Vows ; hateful to God, who *loves a cheerful Giver* ; but much more hateful, wrung out of Men’s Purses to maintain a disapproved Ministry against their Conscience ; however unholy, infamous and dishonourable to his Ministers and the free Gospel, maintained in such unworthy Manner as by Violence and Extortion : If he give it as to his Teacher, what Justice or Equity compels him to pay for learning that
‘ Religion

If the Magistrate is oblig’d to put all his Subjects who alike contribute to the publick Good (and hold no Opinions inconsistent with it) upon an equal Foot, how can he force Part of his Subjects to contribute to the Support of a Religion they cannot in Conscience comply with. Surely, they that insist upon this, do not do as they would be done unto.

Bishop *Hoadly*, says in his Answer to the Representation of the Committee of the Lower-House of Convocation, p. 172.

“ The Magistrate (as I have often remark’d) can reach with all his Power, no farther than outward Practice ; And the outward Actions of Men, as they affect Humane Society, are the Objects of his Care and Concern.—The Magistrate is not by Temporal Punishments or Sanctions, to determine or concern himself with Any Man’s Religion as Religion, but to hinder Any Man’s Religion or Conscience from being hurtful to Humane Society, by punishing those outward Practices which may proceed from his Conscience, for ought he knows, if they are such as are prejudicial to the *Publick*, which is his peculiar Care. p. 255.

‘ Religion, which leaves freely to his Choice
 ‘ whether he will learn it or no, whether of this
 ‘ Teacher or another, and especially to pay for
 ‘ what he never learned, or approves not ; where-
 ‘ by, besides the Wound of his Conscience, he
 ‘ becomes the less able to recompence his true
 ‘ Teacher. Thus far hath been enquired by
 ‘ whom Church Ministers ought to be maintained;
 ‘ and hath been prov’d most natural, most equal
 ‘ and agreeable with Scripture, to be by them
 ‘ who receive their Teaching.

‘ It remains lastly to consider, in what Man-
 ‘ ner God hath ordain’d that Recompence be giv-
 ‘ en to Ministers of the Gospel : And by all Scrip-
 ‘ ture it will appear, that he hath given it to
 ‘ them not by Civil Law and Freehold, as they
 ‘ claim, but by the Benevolence and free Gra-
 ‘ titude of such as receive them : Luke x. 7, 8.
 ‘ *Eating and drinking such Things as they give you.*
 ‘ *If they receive you, eat such Things as are set be-*
 ‘ *fore you.* Mat. x. 7, 8. *As ye go, preach saying,*
 ‘ *the Kingdom of God is at Hand, &c. Freely ye*
 ‘ *have received, freely give.* If God has ordained
 ‘ Ministers to preach freely, whether they receive
 ‘ Recompence or not, then certainly he hath for-
 ‘ bid both them *to compel it*, and others *to compel it*
 ‘ *for them.* But freely given, he accounts as giv-
 ‘ en to himself. Philip. iv. 16, 17, 18. *Ie sent*
 ‘ *once and again to my Necessity.* *Not because I de-*
 ‘ *sire a Gift ; but I desire Fruit that may abound to*
 ‘ *your Account.* Having receiv’d of Epaphroditus
 ‘ *the Things which were sent from you, an Odour of*
 ‘ *sweet Smell, a Sacrifice acceptable, well pleasing*
 ‘ *to God.* Which cannot be from Force or Un-
 ‘ willingness. The same is said of Alms, Heb.
 ‘ xiii. 16. *To do Good and to communicate forget not.*
 ‘ *For with such Sacrifices God is well pleased.*
 ‘ Whence

‘ Whence the Primitive Church thought it no
 ‘ Shame to receive all their Maintenance as the
 ‘ Alms of their Auditors. Which they who de-
 ‘ fend *Tithes*, as if it made for their Cause, when
 ‘ as it utterly confutes them, omit not to set
 ‘ down at large; proving to our Hands out of
 ‘ *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, and others, that
 ‘ the Clergy had their Portions given them in
 ‘ Baskets; and were thence called *Sportularii*,
 ‘ *Basket-Clerks*: That their Portion was a very
 ‘ mean Allowance, only for a bare Livelihood;
 ‘ according to those Precepts of our Saviour:
 ‘ *Mat. x. 7. &c.* the rest was distributed to the
 ‘ Poor. They cite also out of *Prosper*, the Di-
 ‘ sciple of *St. Austin*, that such of the Clergy
 ‘ as had Means of their own, might not without
 ‘ Sin partake of Church-Maintenance, not receiv-
 ‘ ing thereby Food which they abound with, but
 ‘ feeding on the Sins of other Men: that the holy
 ‘ Ghost faith of such Clergy-men, they eat the
 ‘ Sins of my People: And that a *Council* at *An-*
 ‘ *tioch*, in the Year 340, suffered not either Priest
 ‘ or Bishop to live on Church-Maintenance with-
 ‘ out Necessity. Thus far *Tithers* themselves have
 ‘ contributed to their own Confutation, by con-
 ‘ fessing that the Church lived primitively on
 ‘ Alms. And I add, that about the Year 359,
 ‘ *Constantius* the Emperor having summon’d a ge-
 ‘ neral Council of Bishops to *Ariminum* in *Italy*,
 ‘ and provided for their Subsistence there, the
 ‘ *British* and *French* Bishops judging it not decent
 ‘ to live on the Publick, chose rather to be at
 ‘ their own Charges. Three only out of *Britain*
 ‘ constrained thro’ Want, yet refusing offer’d
 ‘ Assistance from the rest, accepted the Empe-
 ‘ ror’s Provision; judging it more convenient to
 ‘ subsist by publick than by private Sustainance.
 ‘ Whence

‘ Whence we may conclude, that *Bishops* then, in
 ‘ this Island, had their Livelihood only from Be-
 ‘ nevolence. In which Regard this Relater *Sul-*
 ‘ *pitius Severus*, a good Author of the same Time,
 ‘ highly praises them.

‘ AND the *Waldenses*, our first Reformers, both
 ‘ from the Scripture and these primitive Exam-
 ‘ ples, maintained those among them who bore
 ‘ the Office of Ministers, by Alms only. Take
 ‘ the very Words from the History written of
 ‘ them in French, *Part 3 l. 2. c. 2. La Nourriture*
 ‘ *et ce de quoy nous sommes couverts, &c. Our Food*
 ‘ *and Cloathing is sufficiently administred and given*
 ‘ *us by Way of Gratitude and Alms, by the good*
 ‘ *People whom we teach.* If then by Alms and
 ‘ Benevolence, not by LEGAL FORCE, not by
 ‘ Tenure of Freehold or Copyhold: For Alms,
 ‘ tho’ just, cannot be compelled; and Benevo-
 ‘ lence forced, is Malevolence rather, violent
 ‘ and inconsistent with the Gospel; and declares
 ‘ him no true Minister thereof, but a rapacious
 ‘ Hireling rather, who by Force receiving it,
 ‘ eats the Bread of Violence and Exaction, no ho-
 ‘ ly or just Livelihood, no not civilly counted
 ‘ honest, much less befitting such Spiritual Mi-
 ‘ nistry. But,

‘ THEY pretend that their Education either at
 ‘ School or University, hath been very chargea-
 ‘ ble, and therefore ought to be repaired in future
 ‘ by a plentiful Maintenance; when as it is well
 ‘ known, that the better half of them, are oft-
 ‘ times poor and pitiful Boys of no Merit, or pro-
 ‘ mising Hopes, that might intitle them to the
 ‘ publick Provision, but their Poverty, and the
 ‘ unjust Favour of Friends, have had most of their
 ‘ Breeding both at School and University, by
 ‘ Scholarships, Exhibitions and Fellowships at
 ‘ the

the publick Cost ; which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely received.

BUT they will say, we had betaken us to some other Trade or Profession, had we not expected to find a better Livelihood by the Ministry. This is that which I looked for, to discover them openly neither true Lovers of *Learning*, and so very seldom guilty of it, nor true Ministers of the Gospel. So long ago out of Date, is that old true Saying, 1 Tim. iii. 1: *If a Man desire a Bishoprick, he desires a good Work*: For now commonly he who desires to be a Minister, looks not at the Work but at the Wages ; and by that Lure, or Low-bell, may be toll'd from Parish to Parish, all the Town over. But what can be plainer *Simony*, than thus to be at Charges beforehand, to no other End, than to make their Ministry doubly or trebly Beneficial? To whom it might be said as justly as that to *Simon*, *Thy Money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the Gift of God may be purchas'd with Money*: *Thou hast neither Part nor Lot in this Matter*.

NEXT, it is a fond Error, tho' too much believed among us, to think that the University makes a Minister of the Gospel ; what it may conduce to other Arts and Sciences, I dispute not now : But that which makes fit a Minister, the Scripture can best inform us to be only from above ; whence also we are bid to seek them, *Matth. ix. 38. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the Harvest, that he will send forth Labourers into his Harvest. Acts xx. 28. The Flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers. Rom. x. 15. How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* By whom sent? By the University, or the Magistrate, or their Belly? No surely : But sent from God only, and that God, who is not their
Belly

‘ Belly. And whether he be sent from God, or
 ‘ from *Simon Magus*, the inward Sense of his Cal-
 ‘ ling and Spiritual Ability will sufficiently tell
 ‘ him; and that strong Obligation felt within
 ‘ him, which was felt by the Apostle,, will often
 ‘ express from him the same Words; 1 Cor. ix.
 ‘ 16. *Necessity is laid upon me, yea, Woe is me, if*
 ‘ *I preach not the Gospel.* Not a beggarly Necessi-
 ‘ sity, and the Woe feared otherwise of perpet-
 ‘ tual Want; but such a Necessity as made him
 ‘ willing to preach the Gospel *Gratis*, and to em-
 ‘ brace Poverty, rather than as a Woe to fear
 ‘ it, 1 Cor. xii. 28. *God hath set some in the Church,*
 ‘ *first Apostles, &c. Eph. iv. 11. &c. He gave some*
 ‘ *Apostles, &c. For the perfecting of the Saints, for*
 ‘ *the Work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the*
 ‘ *Body of Christ, till we all come to the Unity of the*
 ‘ *Faith.* Whereby we may know that as He made
 ‘ them at the first, so he makes them still, and
 ‘ to the World’s End. 2 Cor. iii. 6. *Who hath also*
 ‘ *made us fit or able Ministers of the New Testament.*
 ‘ 1 Tim. iv. 14. *The Gift that is in thee, which was*
 ‘ *given thee by Prophecy, and the laying on of the*
 ‘ *Hands of the Presbytery.* These are all the Means
 ‘ which we read of required in Scripture to the
 ‘ making of a Minister: All this is granted, you
 ‘ will say: But yet it is also requisite he should be
 ‘ trained up in other Learning, which can be no
 ‘ where had than at Universities.

‘ I answer, That what Learning, either hu-
 ‘ man or divine, can be necessary to a Minister,
 ‘ may as easily, and less chargeable, be had in any
 ‘ private House. How deficient else, and to how
 ‘ little Purpose, are all those Piles of Sermons,
 ‘ Notes and Comments on all Parts of the Bible,
 ‘ Bodies and Marrows of Divinity, besides all
 ‘ other Sciences in our *English* Tongue; many
 ‘ of

‘ of the same Books which in *Latin* they read at
 ‘ the University? And the small Necessity of go-
 ‘ ing thither to learn Divinity, I prove, first from
 ‘ the most Part of themselves, who seldom con-
 ‘ tinue there till they have got through Logick,
 ‘ their first Rudiments; tho’ to say Truth, Lo-
 ‘ gick also may much better be wanting in Dis-
 ‘ putes of Divinity, than in the subtle Debates of
 ‘ *Lawyers and Statesmen*, who yet seldom or never
 ‘ deal with Syllogisms.

‘ AND those Theological Disputations there
 ‘ held by Professors and Graduates, are such as
 ‘ tend least of all to the Edification, or Capacity
 ‘ of the People, but rather perplex, and leaven
 ‘ pure Doctrine with Scholastical Trash, than en-
 ‘ able any Minister to the better Preaching of
 ‘ the Gospel. Whence we may also compute,
 ‘ since they come to Reckonings, the Charges of
 ‘ his needful Library; which, tho’ some shame
 ‘ not to value at 600 *l.* may be competently fur-
 ‘ nished for 60 *l.* If any Man, for his own Curi-
 ‘ osity or Delight, be in Books farther expensive,
 ‘ that is not to be reckon’d as necessary to his
 ‘ Ministerial, either Breeding or Function.

‘ BUT *Papists* and other Adversaries, cannot be
 ‘ confuted without Fathers and Councils, immense
 ‘ Volumes, and of vast Charges. I will shew
 ‘ them therefore a shorter and a better Way of
 ‘ Confutation. Tit. i. 9. *Holding fast the faithful*
 ‘ *Word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able*
 ‘ *by sound Doctrine, both to exhort and convince*
 ‘ *Gain-sayers*: Who are confuted as soon as heard,
 ‘ bringing that which is either not in Scripture,
 ‘ or against it. To pursue them farther, through
 ‘ the obscure and intangled Wood of *Antiquity*,
 ‘ *Fathers and Councils*, fighting one against ano-
 ‘ ther, is needless, endless, not requisite in a Mi-
 ‘ nister

‘ nister, and refused by the first Reformers of our
 ‘ Religion.

‘ NEITHER speak I this in Contempt of Learn-
 ‘ ing, or the Ministry, but hating the common
 ‘ Cheats of both; hating that they who have
 ‘ preached out Bishops, Prelates and Canonists,
 ‘ should, in what serves their own Ends, retain
 ‘ their false Opinions, their Pharisaical Leaven,
 ‘ their Avarice, and closely their Ambition,
 ‘ their Pluralities, their Non-residences, *their*
 ‘ *odious Fees*, and use their Legal and Popish Ar-
 ‘ guments for *Tithes*; that *Independents* should
 ‘ take that Name, as they may justly, from the
 ‘ true Freedom of Christian Doctrine and Church
 ‘ Discipline, subject to no superior Judge, but
 ‘ God only, and *seek to be Dependents on the*
 ‘ *Magistrate for their Maintenance*. Which two
 ‘ Things, Independency and State-Hire in Reli-
 ‘ gion, can never consist long or certainly toge-
 ‘ ther. For Magistrates at one Time or other,
 ‘ not like these at present * our Patrons of Chri-
 ‘ stian Liberty, will pay none but such whom, by
 ‘ their Committees of Examination, they find
 ‘ conformable to their Interests and Opinions;
 ‘ and *Hirelings* will soon frame themselves to that
 ‘ Interest, and those Opinions, which they see best
 ‘ pleasing to their Pay-Masters; and to seem right
 ‘ themselves, will force others as to the Truth.

‘ BUT most of all, they are to be revil’d and
 ‘ sham’d, who cry out with the distinct Voice
 ‘ of Notorious Hirelings, *That if ye settle not our*
 ‘ *Maintenance by Law, farewell the Gospel*; than
 ‘ which nothing can be utter’d more false, more
 ‘ ignominious, and, I may say, more blasphem-
 ‘ ous, against our Saviour; who hath promised,
 ‘ without

* *The Parliament of the English Common-Wealth in 1659,*
to whom Milton was Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

without this Condition, *both his holy Spirit, and his own Presence with the Church to the World's End.* Nothing more false (unless with their own Mouths they condemn themselves for the Unworthiest and most mercenary of all other Ministers) by the Experience of Three Hundred Years after Christ, and the Churches at this Day in *France, Austria, Polonia,* and other Places, witnessing the contrary, under an adverse Magistrate, not a favourable: Nothing more ignominious, levelling, or rather undervaluing, CHRIST beneath *Mahomet.*

FOR, if it must be thus, how can any Christian object it to a Turk, *That his Religion stands by Force only*; and not justly fear from him this Reply, *Yours both by Force and Money in the Judgment of your own Teachers.* This is *that* which makes Atheists in the Land, whom they so much complain of: Not the Want of Maintenance, or Preachers, as they alledge, but the many *Hirelings and Cheaters* that have the Gospel in their Hands: Hands that still crave and are never satisfied. Likely Ministers indeed, to proclaim the Faith, or to exhort our Trust in God, when they themselves will not trust Him to provide for them, in the Message whereon, they say, he sent them, but threaten for Want of Temporal Means to desert it; calling that Want of Means, which is nothing else but the Want of their own Faith; and would force us to pay the *Hire* of building our Faith to their covetous Incredulity.

DOUBTLESS, if God only be He, *who gives Ministers to his Church till the World's End*; and through the whole Gospel, never sent us for Ministers to the Schools of Philosophy, but rather bids us *Beware of such vain Deceit,* Col. ii. 8:

‘ (which the Primitive Church, after two or three
 ‘ Ages, not remembring, brought her self quickly
 ‘ to Confusion.) If all the Faithful be now *An Ho-*
 ‘ *ly and a Royal Priesthood*, 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9. not
 ‘ excluded from the Dispensation of Things Ho-
 ‘ liest, after free Election of the Church, and
 ‘ Imposition of Hands, there will not want Mi-
 ‘ nisters elected out of *all Sorts and Orders of Men*,
 ‘ for the Gospel makes no Difference from *the*
 ‘ *Magistrate himself, to the meanest Artificer*, if
 ‘ God evidently favour him with Spiritual Gifts,
 ‘ as he can easily, and oft has done, while those
 ‘ Batchelor Divines, and Doctors of the Tippet,
 ‘ have been passed by.

‘ HERETOFORE, in the first Evangelical Times
 ‘ (and it were happy for *Christendom* if it were so
 ‘ again) Ministers of the Gospel were by nothing
 ‘ else distinguished from other Christians, but by
 ‘ their Spiritual Knowledge, and Sanctity of Life,
 ‘ for which the Church elected them to be her
 ‘ Teachers and Overseers, tho’ not thereby to se-
 ‘ parate them from whatever Calling she then
 ‘ found them following besides, as the Example
 ‘ of St. *Paul* declares, and the first Times of
 ‘ Christianity.

‘ WHEN once they affected to be called a *Cler-*
 ‘ *gy*, and became as it were a peculiar *Tribe of Le-*
 ‘ *vites*, a Party, a distinct Order in the *Common-*
 ‘ *Wealth*, bred up for Divines in Babling-Schools,
 ‘ and fed at the Publick Cost, good for nothing
 ‘ else but what was good for nothing, they soon
 ‘ grew idle; that Idleness, with Fulness of Bread,
 ‘ begat Pride, and perpetual Contention with
 ‘ their Feeders, the despised Laity, through all
 ‘ Ages ever since, to the perverting of Religion,
 ‘ and the Disturbance of all *Christendom*.

‘ AND

‘ their Priests, or at odds with him, as Reform-
 ‘ ed Principles give them some Light to be not
 ‘ wholly conformable, whence infinite Distur-
 ‘ bances in the State, as they do, must needs
 ‘ follow.

‘ THUS much I had to say; and I suppose,
 ‘ what may be enough to them who are not ava-
 ‘ riciously bent otherwise, touching *The likeliest*
 ‘ *Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church*;
 ‘ than which nothing can more conduce to *Truth*,
 ‘ to *Peace*, and *all Happiness* both in *Church* and
 ‘ *State*.

‘ IF I be not heard nor believed, the Event
 ‘ will bear me Witness to have spoken Truth:
 ‘ And I in the mean while have born my Witness,
 ‘ not out of Season, to the Church and to my
 ‘ Countrey.

THESE, Reader, are the Sentiments of this
 Learned Writer, concerning *Tithes* and *Hireling*
Ministers, to which we shall add his Description of
 Christ’s true Disciples and Followers; and the
 Usage they have met with in the World through
 all Ages of the Church, to this Day; taken out
 of that excellent Poem *Of Paradise Lost*.

AFTER the Angel had told *Adam*, how the
 Messiah and Restorer of Lost Man, to be born of
 his Seed, should be put to Death, and rise again
 from the Dead, and ascend into Heaven; the
 Poet makes *Adam* to enquire thus of the Angel,

‘ BUT say, if our Deliv’rer up to Heav’n
 ‘ Must reascend, what will betide the Few
 ‘ His Faithful, left among th’ unfaithful Herd,
 ‘ The Enemies of Truth; who then shall guide
 ‘ His People, who defend? will they not deal
 ‘ Worse with his Followers than with him they dealt?
 ‘ Before they will, said th’ Angel, but from *Heav’n*
 ‘ He to his own a Comforter will send,

‘ The

' The Promise of the Father, who shall dwell
 ' His Spirit within them ; and the Law of Faith
 ' Working thro' love, upon their hearts shall write,
 ' To guide them in all Truth, and also arm
 ' With Spiritual Armour ; able to resist
 ' Satan's Assaults, and quench his fiery Darts,
 ' What Men can do against them, not afraid,
 ' Tho' to the Death, against such Cruelties
 ' With inward Consolations recompenc'd,
 ' And oft supported so as shall amaze
 ' Their proudest Persecutors : for the Spirit
 ' Pour'd first on his Apostles, whom he sends
 ' T' evangelize the Nations, then on all
 ' Baptiz'd, shall then with wondrous Gifts endue
 ' To speak all Tongues, and do all Miracles,
 ' As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
 ' Great Numbers of each Nation to receive
 ' with joy the tidings brought from heav'n : at length
 ' Their Ministry perform'd, and Race well run,
 ' Their Doctrine and their Story written left,
 ' They die ; but in their Room, as they forewarn,
 ' Wolves shall succeed for Teachers, grievous Wolves
 ' Who all the sacred Mysteries of Heav'n
 ' To their own vile Advantages shall turn
 ' Of * Lucre and Ambition, and the Truth

I 3

' With

* The famous Quesnelle says, That Avarice, and the Love of Money has always persecuted Jesus Christ ; The Avarice of the Jewish Priests during his Life-time ; The Avarice of an Apostle at his Death ; The Avarice of the Soldiers after his Resurrection, and the Avarice of bad Clergy-Men to the very End of the World. — The most Ancient and most Cruel Persecutor of the Church, is Money in corrupt Clergy-Men and in the Soldiers. See his Reflection on Mat. xxviii. 15. in the New-Testament with Moral Reflections, which was condemn'd and prohibited by the Constitution or Bull Unigenitus of Pope Clement xi.

L'avarice & l'amour des faux Biens a toujours persecuté Jesus Christ, L'avarice des Prêtres Juifs, durant sa Vie ;
celle

- ‘ With Superstitions and Traditions taint,
- ‘ Left only in those *Written Records* pure,
- ‘ Tho’ not but by the Spirit understood.
- ‘ Then shall they seem to avail themselves of names,
- ‘ Places and Titles, and with these to join
- ‘ Secular Pow’r, tho’ feigning still to act
- ‘ By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
- ‘ The Spirit of God, promis’d alike and giv’n
- ‘ To all Believers ; and from that Pretence
- ‘ Spiritual Laws by Carnal Pow’r shall force
- ‘ On ev’ry Conscience : Laws which none shall find
- ‘ Left them Enroll’d, or what the Spirit within
- ‘ Shall on the Heart engrave. What will they then
- ‘ But force the Spirit of Grace it self, and bind
- ‘ His Confort Liberty ; what, but unbuild
- ‘ His living Temples, built by Faith to stand,
- ‘ Their own Faith not another’s ; for on Earth
- ‘ Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard
- ‘ Infallible ? Yet many will presume :
- ‘ Whence heavy Persecution shall arise
- ‘ On all who in the Worship persevere
- ‘ Of Spirit and Truth ; the Rest, far greater Part,
- ‘ Will deem in *Outward Rites* and *specious Forms*
- ‘ Religion satisfy’d ; Truth shall retire
- ‘ Bestuck with stand’rous Darts, & Works of Faith
- ‘ Rarely be found : So shall the World go on,
- ‘ To Good malignant, to bad Men benign,
- ‘ Under her own Weight groaning till the Day
- ‘ Appear of Respiration to the Just,
- ‘ And Vengeance to the Wicked. —

BUT

celle d’un Apôtre en sa Mort ; celle des Soldats, après sa Resurrection ; celle des mauvais Ecclesiastiques jusque à la Fin du Monde. — Le plus ancien & le plus cruel Persecuteur de l’Eglise, c’est l’Argent dans les Ecclesiastiques corrompus & dans les Gens de Guerre.

BUT now to speak a little more of the Author of the *Great Case of Tithes*: In the Year 1652, when he was a Justice of the Peace in *Westmorland*, it pleased God to raise up, and send forth as Ministers of the Everlasting Truth and Gospel of Christ Jesus, several of the despised People call'd in Scorn *Quakers*: And two of them being brought before him and others, when sitting on the Bench, at the *Affizes* held at *Appleby*; in the Examination, amongst other Questions, he puts this to one of them,

Why dost thou speak against TITHES which are allowed by the States?

I meddle not (said the *Quaker*) with the States; I speak against them that are Hirelings, as they are Hirelings; those that were sent of Christ, never took *Tithes*, nor ever sued any for Wages.

JUSTICE Pearson reply'd, *Dost thou think we are so beggarly as the Heathens, that we cannot afford our Ministers Maintenance? We give it them freely.*

THEY are (said the *Quaker*) the Ministers of Christ, who abide in the Doctrine of Christ.

JUSTICE Pearson reply'd, *But who shall judge? How shall we know them?*

BY their Fruits (said the *Quaker*) you shall know them; they that abide not in the Doctrine of Christ, make it appear they are not the Ministers of Christ.

JUSTICE Pearson reply'd, *That is true.*

AT this very Tryal, we are well informed, our Author was convinc'd of the Principles which the *Quakers* profess'd, and soon after became an Advocate for them; so powerful was the Truth in those Days, in the Mouths of illiterate Men; Men, who having experienced the purifying Virtue of the holy Spirit, were made willing, nay,

were constrain'd by the *Efficacy* and *Virtue* of it, to go forth into the World, and proclaim the Power of God nigh in the Heart, for the cleansing of Sinners, if they would but turn their Minds unto it.

THIS Power, this Spirit of God, they having found to be near, and in them, their Message was to direct the Minds of People, to Christ in themselves, *The true Light which lighteth every Man that cometh into the World*, John i. 9. To this they recommended all People, to have Regard, as to their true and only Teacher, Sanctifier and Redeemer.

BUT, to give it in the Words of * One of the First of those People, ' Now, says he, when ' the Lord God, and his Son Jesus Christ, did ' send me forth into the World, to preach his ' everlasting Gospel and Kingdom, I was glad, ' that I was commanded to turn People to that ' inward Light, Spirit and Grace, by which all ' might know their Salvation, and their Way to ' God ; even that Divine Spirit, which would ' lead them into all Truth, and which I infallably knew, would never deceive any.

' BUT with and by this Divine Power and Spirit of God, and the Light of Jesus, I was to ' bring People off from all their own Ways, to ' Christ the new and living Way ; and from their ' Churches (which Men had made and gathered) ' to the Church in God, the General Assembly ' written in Heaven, which Christ is the Head ' of ; and off from the World's Teachers made ' by Men, to learn of Christ, who is the Way, ' the Truth and the Life, of whom the Father ' said, *This is my beloved Son, hear ye him* ; and ' off

* See George Fox's Journal.

‘ off from all the World’s Worships, to know
 ‘ the Spirit of Truth in the inward Parts, and to
 ‘ be led thereby ; that in it they might worship
 ‘ the Father of Spirits, who seeks such to wor-
 ‘ ship him : Which Spirit they that worshipped
 ‘ not in, knew not what they worshipp’d.

‘ AND, I was to bring People off from *Jewish*
 ‘ *Ceremonies*, and from *Heathenish Fables*, and
 ‘ from *Men’s Inventions* and windy *Doctrines*, by
 ‘ which they blowed the People about, this Way
 ‘ and the other Way, from Sect to Sect ; and all
 ‘ their beggarly *Rudiments*, with their *Schools* and
 ‘ *Colleges*, for making *Ministers* of Christ, who
 ‘ are indeed *Ministers* of their own making, but
 ‘ not of Christ’s. And all their *Images* and *Cros-*
 ‘ *ses*, and *Sprinkling of Infants*, with all their Ho-
 ‘ ly-Days (so call’d) and all their vain *Traditions*,
 ‘ which they had gotten up since the Apostle’s
 ‘ Days, which the Lord’s Power was against ;
 ‘ and in the Dread and Authority thereof was I
 ‘ moved to declare against them all ; and against
 ‘ all that preached, and not freely ; as being
 ‘ such, as had not *received freely* from Christ.

HERE we see, this *Messenger*, whom the Lord
 had *first* fitted and prepar’d by his Wisdom, Power
 and Spirit (by whose *Ministry* Thousands were
 turn’d to Christ in themselves, and the true Wor-
 ship of the Father in Spirit and Truth) was glad
 that he was sent by God to preach his everlasting
 Gospel and Kingdom ; and a Necessity was laid
 upon him, as on the Apostle of old, *such a Necess-*
ity (to use *Milton’s Words* *) *as made him willing*
to preach the Gospel GRATIS ; a strong Obligation
felt within him, which was felt by the Apostle ; and
 let any one judge, whether this was not a better
 Commission

* See Page 110.

Commission and Authority than the Ordination of any Bishop, or even of the Pope himself.

Now as these *Messengers* and *Ministers* of Christ had received their Commission to preach, from the Love of God first wrought in their Hearts, so by the same Love were they constrain'd to call to, and invite others to come and partake with them, of the Love of God in Christ Jesus, which they had experienced: And at the same Time to declare against all *Hireling Ministers*.

In this Manner does that *Messenger*, by whom our Author was convinced, invite and call to People: 'You poor scattered Sheep, who have
' been scattered by these Hirelings, come out of
' the World and Worldly Cares and Pleasures,
' and return to the Lord in Spirit; he is within
' you, and there, if you wait in Spirit, you shall
' hear him speak to your Spirits, to the directing
' your Minds out of all the Works of Darkness
' and Sin, up to God where no Sin is, nor unclean
' Thing can come. He is not to be found in the
' World, nor formal Worships, nor in human
' Wisdom and Learning; but he is only to be
' found as he reveals himself freely, to those who
' patiently wait for him in Spirit.

' *Dear People*, To you that love the Lord a-
' bove all earthly Things, and yet have not your
' Minds directed where to wait for him, to you I
' speak, to your Souls, that lie in Death till they
' hear the Voice of the Son of God: *He is near*
' you, who is the Way to the Father: Look not
' out, *He is within you*: That which I know de-
' clare I unto you, and the Way I know, where
' I have found my Beloved, my Saviour, my Re-
' deemer, my Husband, my Maker, who hath
' set me above all the World, my Sins, my Fears,
' my Sorrows, my Tears, into his Love, to live
' with

‘ with him in Spirit for ever ; but dying daily to
 ‘ all visible Things : Praises, Praises to my Fa-
 ‘ ther for ever.

‘ THE Night is far spent, the Day is at hand ;
 ‘ come out of Darknests all that love the Lord, in-
 ‘ to his marvellous Light, where you shall see
 ‘ what you have been, and what you are redeemed
 ‘ from, that you may live and praise the Lord ;
 ‘ for it is the Living that praise the Lord, and
 ‘ not the Dead : Arise, come out of Death, come
 ‘ away, and let us rejoice together in his Love,
 ‘ in the Life of our King, even so, Amen.

THESE Messengers who went forth thus, in the
 Love of God, to win Souls unto Christ, were no
 Ways concern’d before hand, how they should
 have a *Maintenance*, but loving Christ above all,
 they left what was near and dear to them in this
 World, and follow’d the Movings of his Holy
 Spirit, as did the Apostles of old : And when
 some, in Behalf of the *Ministers* of those Times,
 petition’d *Oliver Cromwel* and the Parliament, to
 settle a *Maintenance* upon them, ‘ Lest (as they
 ‘ say in their Petition) *the Want of sufficient Main-*
 ‘ *tenance, should lay them open to the Contempt of*
 ‘ *their Persons and Doctrine, and put them upon a*
 ‘ *Temptation to hang upon the Favour of their Car-*
 ‘ *nal People, in a Man-pleasing Way, or be forced*
 ‘ *off of their Gospel Employment, to attend on Food*
 ‘ *and Raiment : And lastly, lest their poor Widows*
 ‘ *and Fatherless be driven to Extremities when*
 ‘ *they are dead, they being able to lay up nothing*
 ‘ *for them, while they lived.*

THIS Petition of the *Ministers*, was answered
 by one call’d a *Quaker*, in a Paper address’d to
Oliver Cromwel and those in Authority. ‘ It be-
 ‘ ing a Matter of the greatest Concernment to
 ‘ every Man’s Conscience that loves Christ, not
 ‘ to

‘ to uphold any *Ministry*, under any Pretence
 ‘ whatsoever, which is not sent by Christ : There-
 ‘ fore take heed, as you tender a pure Conscience,
 ‘ to give Liberty herein, that there be no For-
 ‘ cing to uphold any one Soul that say they are
 ‘ *Ministers* ; but that every one herein make
 ‘ Proof of his *Ministry*, and so shall every Man’s
 ‘ Reward be as his Work. And you *Magistrates*
 ‘ shall not need to meddle in this Thing, seeing
 ‘ God never required it at your Hands, to *force a*
 ‘ *Maintenance*, neither under Law nor Gospel.

‘ BUT if it be said, this is the only Way to root
 ‘ out the *Ministers* of Christ, *I answer*, It’s the
 ‘ only Way to manifest the *Ministers* of Christ,
 ‘ from the *Ministers* of Antichrist, and it will
 ‘ root out none but such whose Care is first for
 ‘ their Bellies, who mind earthly Things, whose
 ‘ *Ministry* stands and falls by Carnal Things, who
 ‘ would be sure of Wages before they do their
 ‘ Work ; yea many of them have taken Wages
 ‘ these forty or fifty Years, but yet no Work
 ‘ done, nor any brought out of Sin ; and these
 ‘ cry the Workman is worthy of his Wages, and
 ‘ call for Wages from such, for whom they do
 ‘ no Work ; but these are none of Christ’s Work-
 ‘ men, who seek for their Wages from the World,
 ‘ for His, He sends freely into the World, who
 ‘ never ask’d any Thing of the World ; but first
 ‘ planted a Vineyard, then eat the Fruit of it ;
 ‘ first sowed in Hope, and then were Partakers
 ‘ of their Hope ; and where they had sown Spi-
 ‘ rituals, and the Seed came up, there they reap-
 ‘ ed Carnals, and so lived of the Gospel, and not
 ‘ of the World.

‘ AND I demand of any one who owns the
 ‘ Scriptures, to prove a *forced Maintenance* either
 ‘ under the Law or Gospel, but they were
 ‘ freely

' freely to bring it. But who art thou that sayest
 ' the Times are not so now? Thee I deny, and
 ' thy *Ministry*, which follows the Times, and
 ' not Christ, nor the Saints Practice in Scripture;
 ' stop thy Mouth for ever being counted a *Mini-*
 ' *ster* of Christ, who art not content with his Al-
 ' lowance, as his have always been, for God is
 ' not changed, nor his Worship, nor Worship-
 ' pers. But if you say this will soon bring the
 ' *Ministers* to be poor, I say, you know not God,
 ' nor his Care for his, who so argue; for never
 ' was the Righteous, nor that Seed begging Bread.
 ' Against that desponding Mind do I bear Wit-
 ' ness, who was sent out without Bag or Scrip,
 ' or Money, into the most brutish Parts of the
 ' Nation, where none knew me, yet wanted I
 ' nothing. In Prisons, in Beatings, in Stonings,
 ' in Mocking, my Joy I would not change for
 ' all the Parsonages in the World, nor shall any
 ' Hireling partake of it.

' AND you that would have others *forced* to
 ' maintain your Teachers, but would not be *forced*
 ' to maintain others who differ in Judgment,
 ' tho' nearer the Scripture than yours, how do
 ' you fulfil the Law of Christ, in doing as you
 ' would be done by? What is this but to Lord
 ' it over the Conscience of your Brethren.

WHEN this Evangelical Doctrine began to
 spread in this Nation, it so alarm'd the *Hireling*
Ministers of all Denominations, that they rose up
 as one Man against the Publishers of it, and en-
 deavour'd to perswade the People, that they were
 Deniers of Christ and his Ordinances, and that
 they undervalu'd the Holy Scriptures; and some
 who were call'd *Independent Teachers*, (such as
Milton says, *sought to be Dependent on the Ma-*
gistrate for their Maintenance) apply'd themselves
 to

to the *Rulers*, and said, ‘ *It is our Desire, that*
 ‘ *Countenance be not given unto, nor Trust reposed*
 ‘ *in the Hand of Quakers, being Persons of such*
 ‘ *Principles that are destructive to the Gospel, and*
 ‘ *inconsistent with Peace and Civil Society.* But this
 Request of the *Independent Teachers*, met with the
 following Animadversion from one call’d a *Qua-*
ker ; ‘ As for your Desire that we should not have
 ‘ the Countenance of Men, we say, the Light
 ‘ of God’s Countenance is much better, and we
 ‘ cannot look for both while Men take your
 ‘ Counsel ; and our Trust is in God, in whose
 ‘ Hand we are, and not in our own, and from
 ‘ Men we may not seek Repose : Better it is (for
 ‘ the present) to suffer with Christ, than to reign
 ‘ in your Kingdom, or be honour’d with your
 ‘ Glory. So in Patience stands our Peace with
 ‘ God, even whilst our Names are cast out as
 ‘ evil with Men. But for your Accusation of our
 ‘ Persons and Principles, to be destructive to the
 ‘ Gospel and Civil Society, take that back again
 ‘ to your selves ; our Persons we boast not in,
 ‘ but our *Principles are Truth*, grounded upon
 ‘ the Light of Jesus, and Leadings of his holy
 ‘ Spirit, and whatever is contrary we condemn ;
 ‘ and this we certainly know will never be destruc-
 ‘ tive to Christ’s Gospel, only your Gospel it
 ‘ will destroy, whose Foundation stands not up-
 ‘ on the Power of the Spirit of Jesus, but upon
 ‘ *Tithes*, or some settled Maintenance carnal, as
 ‘ *full*, as *secure* by a carnal *Law*, else it is liable to
 ‘ *Destruction*, as your selves confess. * And this
 ‘ know

* *These Independent Teachers had said, We judge that the*
 taking away Tithes for the Maintenance of Ministers, until
 as full a Maintenance be equally secured, and as legally
 settled, tends much to the Destruction of the Ministry, and
 Preaching of the Gospel, in these Nations.

know, that your Gospel, that must needs be
 destroyed if *Tithes* fall, is not that Gospel which
 the Apostles preached ; for that Gospel begun
 most of all to flourish when *Tithes* went down,
 the Priesthood that received them, and the Law
 that gave them ; which you may read of in the
 Apostle's Epistle to the *Hebrews* (which Law
 never took *Tithes* by *Force*, as the Papist's
 Law did) And now you have often said, *That*
whosoever preaches another Gospel, let him be ac-
curfed ; so take heed that your own Words con-
 demn you not, and your own Weapon pierce
 not your own Bowels ; for the Lord hath heard
 your Words. And this we know, that the Gos-
 pel of Christ which the Apostles preached, was
 upheld by the *Power* of an *endless Life*, by
 which they were also made able Ministers, and
 and did not fall when *Tithes* fell, but then so
 much the more flourished into such Bounty, that
 the Publishers thereof, who had nothing, did
 in it enjoy all Things : Which Gospel both
 your Words and your Actions declare daily you
 live not on ; but like Men who have lost the
 Counsel of God, you act both contrary to Law
 and Gospel. Was not this the Counsel of God
 in the Time of the Law, when the Priests had
 only *Tithes* to live on, that then they should
 have no Magistrate to *force them*, but freely they
 were to bring their Offerings, that so he might
 engage the Priest to himself, who was his Porti-
 on ; and then they never wanted, while they
 kept the Word, and their Lips preserved Know-
 ledge to the People. But when the Priests for-
 got God, then, like Priest, like People, and
 then they justly wanted as God had said. And
 would you now have the Magistrate to make a
 Law to take People's Goods, and give to such

‘ as do not first beget People to God? Is this to
 ‘ live on the Gospel, or to eat of your own
 ‘ Fruits, as Christ’s Ministers do and ever did?
 ‘ Thus may the Magistrate do for a while against
 ‘ the Lord, and oppress the Innocent, to feed the
 ‘ Fat and Idle, but the Account is at Hand, in
 ‘ which it will be said, *Did I require it at your*
 ‘ *Hands? Am not I of Power to maintain my own*
 ‘ *Servants, who have the Hearts of all in my Hands?*
 ‘ Or, *what Laws will you make for me, who never*
 ‘ *made Use of any in this Case, but the Law of Love,*
 ‘ *to be fulfill’d in a free Spirit, for in the Household of*
 ‘ *Christ is no Strife about Carnal Things?* And that
 ‘ Principle is destructive to the Gospel of Peace,
 ‘ which admits of Strife about their Bellies, or
 ‘ framing Mischief against another by a Law to
 ‘ fill themselves.

‘ WHEREFORE take heed, ye *Rulers*, (if it be not
 ‘ too late) how you meddle with *Christ’s Kingdom*,
 ‘ but kiss the Son, and yield him his Kingdom in
 ‘ tender Consciences; touch not the Apple of the
 ‘ Eye, which sees that to be Sin and Evil, which
 ‘ yet you do not, of which you have often been
 ‘ warned. But if you will make Laws, let the
 ‘ Scriptures be your Rule without, and the Spi-
 ‘ rit of Christ within, enlightning the pure Con-
 ‘ science, that so you may become tender-hearted
 ‘ in the Fear of God, that the Edge of your
 ‘ Sword may be turned against open Wickedness;
 ‘ being touched with a true Sense of what grieves
 ‘ the Spirit of Christ in your selves, being joined
 ‘ to the Lord in one Spirit and Life. And this
 ‘ will be your Wisdom, the Interest of Christ
 ‘ and his People, and from thence you will re-
 ‘ ceive better Counsel, and truer Judgment than
 ‘ that which would stir you up to persecute and
 ‘ force

‘ force tender Consciences against their Faith
‘ and Knowledge receiv’d of the Lord Jesus,
‘ in Matters of his Worship, to serve Men of
‘ corrupt Minds, having Hearts exercised with
‘ covetous Practices, who cannot cease from
‘ Sin, and stirring up Nations to devour one
‘ another to accomplish their own Ends.

The End of the APPENDIX.



A
D E F E N C E
 OF SOME
PRINCIPLES

Held by the

People call'd **Q U A K E R S,**

In which they differ from other

Religious DENOMINATIONS.

Of Bearing Arms and Fighting.

TH^O' the Principles of the *Quakers* were represented by the * *Independent Teachers*, as destructive to the Gospel, and inconsistent with Peace and Civil Society ; yet, if Principles of Religion are to be try'd by the Scriptures, as *Protestants* say, it will be no difficult Matter to show, that the Principles of the *Quakers* are consistent with the Gospel, and that they tend more directly to promote the Peace of Civil Society, than those of the *Independents*, or of any other Denomination of Christians.

THE Principle which the *Quakers* hold, That 'tis unlawful for Christians to bear Arms, or to fight (it being a Practice no ways agreeing with

K 2

the

* See the foregoing Appendix, page 126.

Mat. 5. 24. the *Love of Enemies*, which Christ has positively enjoyn'd his Disciples) has an immediate Tendency to promote the Peace of Civil Society, and also the peaceable Gospel of Christ, concerning which 'tis said, *Of the Increase of his Government and PEACE there shall be no End.*

Isa. 9. 7. AND tho' such a Principle may be thought inconsistent with the Safety and Preservation of Government, yet, if the great and most comprehensive Duties of all Religion, in which the Principle is founded, viz. *The Love of God and our Neighbour as our self*, be well consider'd, they will be found the best Securities of the Peace and Safety of every Government.

Matt. 22.
37.

THIS Principle is also most agreeable to the Design of the Gospel, and the chief End of Christ's Coming into the World; at whose Birth a Multitude of the Heavenly Host prais'd God, saying, *Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth PEACE, Good-will towards Men.*

Luke 2.
13, 14.

AND *Isaiah* prophesied, that in the *Last Days*,* that is, in the Times of the *Messiah*, or the Gospel, as the Generality both of *Jewish* and *Christian* Writers understand it, *The People shall beat their Swords into Plow-Shares, and their Spears into Pruning-Hooks: Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, neither shall they learn WAR any more.* The *Jews* understood this Prophecy to relate solely to the Times of the *Messiah*, and alledge it as a strong Argument that the *Messiah* is not come; † For say they, *War and Fighting* is

Isa. 2. 4.

* By this Expression, Menasseh Ben-Israel, a Jew, tells us, that all their Wise Men understood the Time of the *Messias*. See the Bishop of Litchfield's *Defence of the ancient Prophecies*, Page 123.

† Pool's Annotations on *Isaiah* Ch. ii. ver. 4. Christ shall set up and use his Authority among and over all Nations, not only giving

not ceas'd, and the Sword is us'd as well by those call'd *Christians* as other People.

It is also universally allow'd by the *Jews* as well as *Christians*, that the Reign of the *Messiah* is describ'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*, in the following Words; *With Righteousness shall he judge the Poor, and reprove with Equity, for the*

K 3

Meek

giving Laws to them, as other Rulers do, but doing that which no other Powers can do, convincing their Minds and Consciences, conquering and changing their Hearts, and ordering their Lives. He shall root out these great Animosities and Hostilities which were between the Jews and Gentiles, Eph. ii. 13. &c. and between several Nations, subduing Men's Pride, and Passions, and Lusts, which are the Causes of all Wars and Contentions; and working Humility, and Meekness, and Self-denial, and true and fervent Love to all Men, from whence Peace necessarily follows. This was the Design of the Gospel in all, and the Effect of it in those that rightly receiv'd it. And that War and Dissension which was occasioned by the Preaching of the Gospel, as was foretold Mat. x. 21, 22. it was wholly accidental, by Reason of Men's corrupt Interests and Lusts, which the Gospel opposed; and it was not amongst those who received the Gospel in the Love of it, but between them and those who were either open Enemies or false Friends to them and the Gospel. But if this Place be understood of an external and general Peace which was to be in the World in the Days of the Messiah, this also may in due Time be verified, when all Israel shall be saved, and the Fulness of the Gentiles shall be brought in, and both Jews and Gentiles shall be united together into one Fold, under Christ their great Shepherd; all which is prophesied and promised. John x. 16. Rom. xi. and elsewhere. For it is not necessary that all the Prophecies concerning the Kingdom of the Messiah, should be accomplished in an Instant, or at the Beginning of it; but it is sufficient if they be fulfilled before the End of it. And some of them do manifestly belong to the last Days of that Kingdom. And therefore there is no Truth nor Weight in that Argument which the Jews bring from this Place, against our Messiah, because of those Wars that have hitherto been and still are amongst Christians; for this doth not prove that these Wars shall never cease, or that there shall not be such a Peace in the World as they understand, before the End of Christ's Kingdom.

Isa. ch. xi. *Meek of the Earth. The Wolf also shall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard shall lie down with the Kid, and the Calf and the young Lion and the Fattling together ; and a little Child shall lead them ; and the Cow and the Bear shall feed ; their young ones shall lie down together ; and the Lion shall eat Straw like an Ox. And a sucking Child shall play on the Hole of the Asp, and the weaned Child shall put his Hand on the Cockatrice Den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my Holy Mountain.* For the Earth that is, in shall be full of the Knowledge of the Lord, as the Zion my Waters cover the Sea.*

*My holy
Mountain
that is, in
Zion my
Church.
Wherever
the Gospel
comes and
prevails, it
will have
this Effect.
Pool's An.

SOME of the ancient Writers amongst the Primitive Christians, as ** *Justin Martyr, Theodoret** &c. took the Holy Mountain, in *Isaiab's* Prophecy, to be spoken of the Church of Christ ; and they appeal'd to the *Gentiles*, whether they did not see and observe, by the Behaviour and Manners of the Christians, a fulfilling of those glorious Prophecies ; such was then the Peaceableness and Innocency of their Lives.

AND

** *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology* for the Christians cites these Words of *Isaiab*, — *Nation shall not lift up Sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more ;* and says, that this is thus fulfill'd, you have Grounds to believe, For we who in Times past killed one another, do not War or Fight with our Enemies. καὶ ὅτι ἔως γέγονε, παιδῆναι δύνασθαι καὶ οἱ πάλοι ἀλληλοφόνται οὐ μόνον οὐ πολεμῶμεν τέες ἐχθρῆς.

* *Theodoret* i ad Græc. Sermo. x. Qualia igitur Propheta *Esaïas* Oracula prædixerit, audistis. Age vero, per Veritatem vos rogo ; nunquid ibi sinuosè aut ambigüe dictum vobis videatur. Videtis enim manifesta rerum indicia, cum eventa ejus prædictionis passim impleta conspiciantur. An non enim videtis Christianæ Ecclesiæ Sublimitatem ? Nonne omnes undique confluentes, verbumque quod apparuit in Sion theologicè prædicantes, quodque inde Verbum scaturiūt amplectentes ? An non cessasse videtis hostes Ecclesiæ, proque bellicis Armis, agriculturæ instrumenta desumi ?

AND the learned Dr. *Moor* observes in his brief Description of the Kingdom of Christ, *Book 2. Ch. 13.* ‘ That *Christ* with his Church, is all along, ‘ in the *Revelations*, represented under the Hieroglyphick of a *Lamb*, that harmless and peaceable Creature ; and in *Daniel*, under the *Type* of ‘ a *Man*, when as the rest of the Kingdoms are typified by Wild Beasts. Which intimates that ‘ the Kingdom of Christ is not a Kingdom of ‘ *Belluine* Ferocity, but of *Reason*, *Humanity*, and ‘ tender loving Kindness. According therefore to ‘ this Description of the Kingdom of Christ, it is ‘ plainly a *Kingdom of Peace and Love*, the Empire of that Divine Virtue of Charity ; and discovers it self in the defending, righting and easing of the Poor ; In the Lowliness and Meekness of the Governors ; and in the Truth and Faithfulness of them ; In managing their Affairs without Guile or Deceit ; In the Unity and Friendly Conversableness of People ; In the Cessation of WAR and HOSTILITY.

To hold therefore, as the *Quakers* do, That the Bearing of Arms and Fighting, are Things inconsistent with the *Gospel* or *Kingdom of Christ*, is no such Novel or singular Opinion as some would make it to be. *Tertullian*, that ancient and learned Apologist for the Christians, says, * ‘ How shall ‘ he fight whose Sword is taken from him by ‘ Christ? For tho’ the Soldiers came to *John*, ‘ and he bid them *Do Violence to no Man, neither* Luk. 3.14. ‘ *accuse*

K 4

* *Tertulliani de Idololatria Liber.* Quomodo autem bellabit, immo quomodo etiam in pace militabit sine Gladio quem Dominus abstulit? Nam et si adierant Milites ad Johannem, & Formam Observationis acceperant, si etiam Centurio crediderat, omnem postea Militem Dominus in Petro exarmando discinxit.

' *accuse any falsly, and be content with their Wages ;*
 ' and tho' the *Centurion* believed, yet Christ by
 ' disarming *Peter*, disarm'd every Soldier after-
 ' ward. And in another Place he says, † Can a
 ' Soldier's Life be lawful, when Christ has pro-
 ' nounced, *That he that uses the Sword, shall perish*
 ' *by the Sword?* Can one, who professes the peace-
 ' able Doctrine of the Gospel, be a WARRIER,
 ' he who must not so much as strive or contend ?
 ' And shall he who is not to revenge his own
 ' Wrongs, be instrumental to bring others into
 ' Chains, Imprisonment, Torments and Death ?

THIS *Tertullian* liv'd in the early Times of the
 Gospel, about an Hundred Years after the Apo-
 stles, when the Doctrine of Christ was better un-
 derstood and practis'd, than it has been for many
 Centuries since. And about Fifty Years after
 him, *Origen* writ a Book in Defence of the Princi-
 ples and Practice of the Christians, against *Celsus*
 a most virulent Adversary, who amongst other
 Things

† *De Corona Militis.* Licebit in Gladio conversari, Do-
 mino pronunciante Gladio periturum, qui gladio fuerit
 Usus ? Et Prælio operabitur Filius Pacis, cui nec litigare
 conveniet ? Et vincula & carcerem, & tormenta, & suppli-
 cia administrabit, nec suarum ultor injuriarum ? *Rigaltius*
 Notes upon the Words *Quomodo autem bellabit* &c. That
Tertullian takes away all kind of War, and all Use of the
 Sword, from all Christians. *Christianis omnibus, omne Mi-*
litiæ genus, omnem gladii usum adimit.

And *Beatus Rhenanus*, upon these Words, *He that allows*
not a Christian to serve under an Heathen General, would he al-
low that one Christian should be a Soldier under another to perse-
cute Christians, that is, his Brethren ? Doubtless Tertullian
never believed it would come to pass, that Christians would go
to War one with another. Qui non permittit, ut Christianus
 Ethnico belligeranti an permissurus est ut Christianus Chri-
 stiano, Christianos, hoc est, Fratres persecuturo, se militem
 adjungat ? haud dubie nunquam credidit futurum *Tertulli-*
anus, ut Christiani mutuis Armis concurrerent,

Things, charg'd the Christians with refusing to Bear Arms, and to enter into military Employments. * *Lastly, says Origen, Celsus exhorts us, That we should assist the Emperor with all our Might, and aid him in all his just Undertakings and Engagements, and when requisite, Bear Arms and Fight for him.* To this we answer, that we do assist the Emperors, if I may so say, with a Divine Aid, having on us the whole Armour of God; and this we do, in Obedience to the Words of the Apostle, who says, *I exhort therefore first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for Kings, and for all that are in Authority.* And by how much the more pious any Man is, by so much the more he lends Assistance to Emperors, yea more than they who stand in Battle Array, and cut down as many of the Enemy as they can. We may also reply to you, who are not of our Belief, and urge us to bear Arms, and Fight; Your own Priests, and those who belong to your Temples, keep their Hands from being defil'd with Blood, by Reason of the Sacrifices they must offer, with unbloody and unpolluted Hands, to those you esteem your Gods. And when you go to War, you never take any of the Priestly Order for Soldiers. If then you think that reasonable, why should you not think it more so in those, who when others

go

Crigenes contra Celsum. Lib. 8. p. 426. Cantabrigiæ Editio.

* Ἐὶθ' ἐξῆς προτρέπεται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κέλσος ἀρίθμειν τῷ βασιλεῖ παντί δίνειν, καὶ συμπροεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ δίκαια, καὶ ὑπερμαχεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ συσπείρειν αὐτῷ ἀν' ἐπείγῃ καὶ συστρατηγεῖν. Postremo hortatur nos Cellius, ut Opem feramus Imperatori totis viribus, & geramus ejus auspiciis justa, piaque bella, néve detrectemus Militiam si res ita postulat.

' go out to fight, They as Priests and Ministers
 ' of God, lift up holy Hands, and wrestle in
 ' Prayer with God, for them who fight in a just
 ' Cause, and for the Emperor who reigns well ;
 ' that God would be pleas'd to remove every
 ' Thing that is against them. Therefore all evil
 ' Spirits which stir up Sedition, break Treaties,
 ' and disturb the publick Peace, being quash'd
 ' by our Prayers, we do greater Service to Em-
 ' perors than those who are for Fighting. And
 ' we labour for the common Good, by putting up
 ' Prayers in Holiness, and, by our Religious Ex-
 ' ercises and Practice, we teach how to despise and
 ' shun the pleasing Baits of Sin. * *Thus we fight*
 ' *better than others for the Emperor, but should he go*
 ' *about to compel us to FIGHT or BEAR ARMES under*
 ' *Him, we cannot do it.*

THIS is a full and plain Declaration of the Opi-
 nion and Practice of the Christians, agreeable to
 the Principle of the *Quakers* ; 'tis not *Origen's*
 single Opinion, but an Apology in Behalf of the
 Christians in *Origen's* Time, (and they were then
 very numerous) 'tis a Defence of their Opinion
 and Practice, against the Charge of *Celsus*, who
 had represented them as a People useles and ob-
 noxious to the Government.

AND farther, to prove beyond all Contradicti-
 on, that it was held unlawful for a Christian to
 Bear Arms and to Fight, not only in the Days of
Tertullian and *Origen*, but later down, even to the
 Emperor *Diocletian's* Time, we shall produce the
 Testimony of one *Maximilian* who suffer'd Death
 under

* Ἡμεῖς καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμαχεῖμεν τῷ βασιλέως. καὶ ἐσυστρα-
 τεύόμεθα μὲν αὐτῷ, καὶν ἐπειγῇ. Sic nos præ aliis pugnamus
 pro Imperatore : cum ipso, licet nos impellat, non mili-
 tamus.

under that Emperor's Reign, for refusing to bear Arms. *Maximilian* being brought before the Tribunal, **Dion* the Proconsul said, What is thy Name? *Maximilian* answer'd, why would'st thou know my Name, I must not Fight, for I am a *Christian*. *Dion* the Proconsul said, let him be enroll'd. And when he was enroll'd, it was recited out of the Register, that he was Five Feet Ten Inches high. *Dion* bid the Officer mark him; and when *Maximilian* refus'd, saying, I cannot fight, *Dion* said, Bear Arms, or thou shalt die. *Maximilian* answer'd, I cannot fight if I die: I fight not for this World, but for my God. *Dion* the Proconsul said, who has perswaded thee? *Maximilian* answer'd my own Mind, and he who call'd me. *Dion* spake to his Father, and bid him perswade his Son. His Father reply'd, he knows his own Mind, and what is best for him to do. *Dion* then said to *Maximilian*, take thy Arms and receive the Mark, † he answer'd, I can receive no such Mark, I have already the Mark of Christ. *Dion* the

* *Dion* proconsul dixit: Quis vocaris? *Maximilianus* respondit; Quis autem vis scire nomen meum, mihi non licet militare, quia Christianus sum. *This Narrative is entitled Passio S. Maximiliani. and is Printed at the End of a small Book of Lactantius, De Mortibus Persecutorum, Oxonii, Anno Dom. 1680. And also in Ruinart's Acta Primorum Martyrum, at Paris in Quarto, Anno 1689. In Ruinart's Book, the Reader will find Instances of others who suffer'd Martyrdom for refusing to bear Arms, particularly one Marcellus, a Centurion, who went and laid down his Arms before the Ensign of the Legion, and declar'd before all the Soldiers, That he was a Christian, for which he was put to Death. Rejecto cingulo militari coram Signis Legionis, Christianum se esse testatus coram omni populo.*

† 'Tis said the Mark was made in the Hand, and they wore a leaden Ring about the Neck.

Of Bearing Arms *and* Fighting.

' the Proconsul said, I shall send thee quickly to
 ' thy Christ: He answer'd, I would have thee,
 ' for that will be my Praise. *Dion* bid the Offi-
 ' cer mark him, but he still refusing, said I can-
 ' not receive the Mark of this World; and if
 ' thou should'st mark me, I shall break it, for it
 ' will avail nothing, I am a Christian, and 'tis
 ' not lawful for me to wear such a Mark about
 ' my Neck, when I have receiv'd the saving
 ' Mark of my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the
 ' Living God, whom thou art ignorant of; who
 ' died to give us Life, and whom God gave for
 ' our Sins: Him all we Christians obey; Him
 ' we follow as the Restorer of our Life, and the
 ' Author of our Salvation: *Dion* said, take thy
 ' Arms and receive the Mark, or thou wilt pe-
 ' rish miserably. *Maximilian* answer'd, I shall
 ' not perish, my Name is already enroll'd with
 ' my Lord, I cannot fight. *Dion* said, consider
 ' thy Youth, and bear Arms, for 'tis what be-
 ' comes a young Man. *Maximilian* reply'd,
 ' my Arms are with my Lord, I cannot fight
 ' for this World, I am now a Christian. *Dion*
 ' the Proconsul said, Among the† Life-Guards of
 ' our Masters *Diocletian* and *Maximianus*, and
 ' *Constantius*, and *Maximus*, there are Christian
 ' Soldiers, and they fight. * *Maximilian* reply'd,
 ' they know what is expedient for them, but I am
 ' a Christian, and cannot do Evil. *Dion* said, take thy
 ' Arms

† In sacro Comitatu.

* The modest and Christian-like Answer which *Maximi-*
lian gave *Dion* when he told him there were Christian So-
 diers in the Life-Guard of his Masters, is worthy of our
 greatest Notice, *Ipsi sciunt* says he, *quod eis expedit*: *Ego*
tamen Christianus sum & non possum male facere. They know
 what is expedient for them: But I am a Christian and can-
 not do Evil. This is truly the very Language of a Disciple
 of

* Arms, despise not the Business of a Soldier,
 * lest thou perish miserably: *Maximilian* re-
 * ply'd, I shall not perish, and if I leave this
 * World, my Soul will live with Christ my Lord.
 * *Dion* then said, strike his Name out; and when
 * it was done, *Dion* said, because with a Rebelli-
 * ous Mind thou hast refus'd to bear Arms, thou
 * shalt be punish'd according to thy Deserts, for
 * an Example to others: And then he read his
 * Sentence. *Maximilian, because thou hast with a*
 * *Rebellious Mind refus'd to bear Arms, thou art to*
 * *die by the Sword.* *Maximilian* reply'd, Thanks
 * be to God. He was Twenty Years, three
 * Months and seventeen Days old. And when he
 * was led to the Place of Execution, he spake
 * thus: My dear Brethren, endeavour with all
 * your Might, that it may be your Lot to see the
 * Lord, and that he may give you such a Crown,
 * and then with a pleasant Countenance he said to
 * his Father, give the Executioner the Soldier's
 * Coat thou had'st got for me, and when I shall
 * receive

of Christ; but what Sort of Christians those were that *Dion*
 spoke of that could fight, we can only guess at; They
 might indeed bear the Name of Christians as Multitudes do
 now a-days, but certainly they were not so well convinced,
 or at least not such strict Followers of Christ's Doctrine, as
 this *Maximilian* and some others whose Names are upon Re-
 cord, who chose rather to die than to bear Arms and fight
 for this World, which they could not do, without transgres-
 sing the Precept and Command of Christ. *Matt. v. 44. Love*
your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that
hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and perse-
cute you. That ye may be the Children of your Father which is
in Heaven, for he maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil
and on the Good, and sendeth Rain on the Just and on the
Unjust. And of the Apostle, *1 Thess. v. 15. See that none*
render Evil for Evil unto any Man: but ever follow that which
is good, both among your selves, and to all Men.

‘ receive thee in the Company of the blessed Mar-
 ‘ tyrs, we may also rejoice together with the
 ‘ Lord, and thus he suffer’d. His Mother *Pom-*
 ‘ *peiana* obtain’d his Body of the Judge, and car-
 ‘ ried it to *Carthage*, and buried it near the
 ‘ Place where the Body of *Cyprian* the *Martyr*
 ‘ lay; and thirteen Days after the Mother dy’d,
 ‘ and was bury’d in the same Place. And *Victor*
 ‘ his Father return’d to his Habitation rejoicing,
 ‘ and praising God, that he had sent before such a
 ‘ Gift unto the Lord, himself expecting to follow
 ‘ after.

THE Reader has now a Testimony against bear-
 ing Arms and Fighting, remarkable both for its
 Antiquity, and the Tokens it bears of the Cour-
 age and Fortitude so conspicuous in the Primitive
 Christians; we shall therefore leave Him to decide
 which were the true Servants and Disciples of
 Christ, who said to *Pilate*, *My Kingdom is not of*
 Joh. 18. 36 *this World, if my Kingdom were of this World, then*
would my Servants fight, whether such Christians as
 this *Maximilian* was, or such as *Dion* said, were
 of *Diocletian’s* Guard and did fight. And let the
 Church of *Rome*, which boasts so much of her
 Faith and Tradition, see whether she has continu’d
 in the Faith and Practice of the holy Anci-
 ents and *Martyrs* of *Christ*.

O F

S W E A R I N G.

THE Opinion or Principle of the *Quakers* that all Oaths are forbidden by Christ, is grounded on these Words of Scripture, SWEAR NOT AT ALL, *but let your Communication be Yea, Yea, Nay, Nay, for whatsoever is more than these cometh of Evil.* Mat. v. 34. And James v. 12. *But above all Things my Brethren swear not, neither by Heaven, neither by the Earth, neither by ANY OTHER OATH; but let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay, lest ye fall into Condemnation.**

* Bishop Burnet in his Exposition of the 39 Articles. Arti. 39. Says *‘It must be confess’d that these Words seem to be so express and positive, that great Regard is to be had to a Scruple that is founded on an Authority that seems to be so full.* And the learned Huetius Bishop of Avranches in France, says, *‘It is well known by that Precept of Christ, Mat. v. 34. ‘That Swearing is to be intirely avoided, and the same is repeated in the Epistle of James Ch. v. 12. And Josephus shews that the Effenes look’d upon an Oath to be worse than Perjury, because he seem’d to be already condemn’d, who could not be believ’d unless he attested the Name of God. And when Maimonides would prove the same Thing, he makes Use of the very Words of Christ. But let us return to Pythagoras, whose Precept about Swearing was observ’d so strictly by his Disciples, that one of them would let a Fine of three Talents be set upon him, rather than affirm the Truth by Swearing. He is call’d Syllus by Familichus, but Clinias by Basil. The whole Nation of the Phrygians were very much against Oaths, they neither requir’d others to take them, nor did they take them themselves. Amongst the Adages or Proverbs of the Arabs this is a celebrated one, Never Swear, but let thy*
Word,

WE think no Words could more positively prohibit Swearing and Oaths of any Kind whatever, than these Words of *Christ* and the Apostle *James*. The Words of *Christ*, *For whatsoever is more than these cometh of Evil*, plainly denote that any Kind of Oath is contrary to Righteousness, and comes from Evil; and 'tis very plain and evident, that the Tendency of *Christ's* Precepts deliver'd in that Sermon upon the Mount, is to remove and take away the very Grounds and Cause of Evil; how then shall we reconcile the Exposition which some Divines, so call'd, have given of the Words *Swear not at all*, who say, That *Christ* has by those Words only prohibited *Voluntary Oaths and swearing in common Conversation and Discourse*?

DOES not such an Exposition debase the pure Doctrine of *Christ*, even beneath the Morality of the *Heathens*, some of whose Philosophers taught, long before the Coming of *Christ*, not only

' *Word be Yes or No*. Which Custom the *Talaponi* of *Siam* observe; manifestly according to the Doctrine of *Christ*.

Huet. de *Concordiâ rationis & Fidei* Lib. Cap. v. De *Jurejurando*. ' Scitum est Christi, jurejurando abstinendum omnino: quod & repetit *Jacobus*, in Epistola. Et perhibet *Josephus* *Essenas* perjurio pejus credidisse juramentum; quod is jam videretur esse condemnatus, cui sine Dei testimonio fides non adhibeatur. Cumque idem statuere vellet *Maimonides*, verba ipsa Christi usurpavit. Sed redeamus ad *Pythagoram*, cujus decreto tam constanter steterunt ipsius Discipuli, ut quidam ex illis lite trium talentorum cadere maluerit, quam rem veram jurejurando affirmare. Syllus appellatur ab *Jamblich*, *Clinias* a *Basilio*. Tota *Phrygium* *Gens* abhorruit a juramentis, nec exigentes ab aliis, nec aliis ipsi præstantes. Inter Adagia Arabum celebratur illud, Jurandum nunquam, Sermonem esse debere etiam, vel non. Quem morem servant quoque *Siamenses Talapoini*: plane juxta doctrinam Christi.

only that voluntary Oaths, and Swearing in common Conversation and Discourse, were to be avoided, but even Swearing before a Magistrate?

Now to prove this, we have the Testimony of *Basil* the Great so call'd, an Ancient Christian, who has cited the Instance of one *Clinias* a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, who chose rather to pay a Fine of Three Talents than to Swear. 'What *Clinias* did, says *Basil*, who was of the Sect of *Pythagoras*, is so agreeable to our Precepts, that 'tis hardly credible, and yet it was not done in Imitation of our Precepts neither. *But what did he? When by Swearing he could have escap'd a Fine of Three Talents, he chose rather to pay the Money than to Swear, tho' he was to have sworn nothing but the Truth. It seems to me, as if he had heard of *That Precept* which forbids us to Swear.

It is evident by this, that *Basil* thought Swearing even before a Magistrate, prohibited by that Precept of Christ.

BUT farther, to shew that Swearing, on any Account whatsoever, was by the very *Heathen* thought an Evil, and no Ways becoming Men of
L
Probity

* τί δὲ ἦν ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνος; ἐξὸν δὲ ὄρκου τριῶν ταλάντων ζημίαν ἀποφυγεῖν, ὃ δὲ ἀπέτικε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧμοσε, καὶ ταῦτα εὐρεῖν μέλλαν. ἀκέσας, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, τὸ πρῶτον ματος; ὃ ὄρκον ἡμῖν ἀπαγορεύουσιν. Quod de Clinia Pythagoræo dicit, ex Hierocle confirmatur, Comment. in 2 præcept. Aur. Carm. Basil. de Legendis Græc. Libris. Oxon. Edit. cum Notis Johannis Potter. What Basil has said of Clinias, Dr. Potter now Bishop of Oxford says, is confirm'd by Hierocles, in his Commentary on the second Precept of the golden Verses of Pythagoras. And another Author says, this is likely to be done out of Love to Truth, and Respect he bore to his Master's Doctrine, who said, Let no Man attest God by an Oath, tho' in Courts of Judicature, but use to speak such Things as that he may be credited without an Oath. See Jamblicus de vita Pythagoræ, p. 120, and 126, Editio Amstelodami.

Probity, we shall produce a Passage out of *Quintus Curtius*, who is thought by some to have liv'd in the Reign of *Augustus*.

ALEXANDER having sent to the *Scythians*, a great People, to require that they would take an Oath of Allegiance to him, The *Scythians* return'd him this Answer, † ‘ Let not *Alexander* think
‘ that the *Scythians* are bound to Fidelity by swear-
‘ ing, No, They swear in observing their Pro-
‘ mise. The Practice of Swearing we leave to the
‘ *Greeks*, who sign Leagues and call the Gods to
‘ witness: Our Religion lies in keeping our
‘ Word. They who are not faithful to Men,
‘ deceive the Gods, and *Alexander* can have no
‘ Need of a Friend of whose Benevolence he
‘ doubts.

INSTANCES also might be given of some amongst the *Heathen*, who, by the Integrity of their Lives and Morals, obtain'd so great Reputation, as to have their bare *Affirmation* pass instead of an Oath before the Magistrates.

CICERO a great Statesman and Philosopher, who liv'd about 40 Years before the Coming of Christ

† Jurando gratiam Scythas sancire ne credideris, colendo fidem, jurant. Græcorum ista Cautio est, qui acta consignant, & deos invocant. Nos Religionem in ipsa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos. Nec tibi Amico opus est, de cujus Benevolentia dubites. Jo. Freinshemius in his *Commentary on this Place of Q. Curtius, comments on the Words In ipsa Fide*. ‘ Quæ nobis, ut Dea, ‘ religiosè colitur. Ridiculum ergo putamus, advocatis per ‘ jusjurandum Diis religionis metu nos adstringere, si ii simus, ‘ ut Fidei numen possimus contemnere. *Phrygas* etiam abstinuisse jurejurando scribit Nichol. Damascenus, in Excerpt. ‘ Valef. page 517. Sane jurandi parum validum videbatur ‘ Vinculum *Augusto* apud Dion. lib. 54. Quæ sponte fiunt, et ‘ etiam citra jurisjurandi vinculum observantur: at quæ fiunt ‘ ingratis, non, si Millies jurata sunt, præstantur. Nisi vide- ‘ licet cum *Scythis* religionem in ipsa Fide noverit.

Christ, relates this remarkable Passage, ‘ * They
 ‘ say at *Athens*, when a certain Man amongst
 ‘ them, who had liv’d in an holy and grave Man-
 ‘ ner, was to have given a publick Testimony,
 ‘ and, as is the Custom of the *Greeks*, was going
 ‘ to the Altars to Swear, all the *Judges* with one
 ‘ Voice cry’d out, Let not this Man swear. This
 is thought to be spoken of *Xenocrates*, for *Laertius*,
 in his Lives of the Philosophers, says, ‘ ** That
 ‘ he was so faithful to his Word, that the *Atheni-
 ‘ ans* gave him alone the Liberty of delivering his
 ‘ Testimony without Swearing, which was not al-
 ‘ lowed to others.

AND *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who liv’d about
 150 Years after Christ, speaking of that pure and
 unspotted Mind one who converses with God
 ought to have, and of the pious Way of Living
 the true Christian is always found in, says, ‘ One
 ‘ that is grounded in such an holy Life, must be
 ‘ very far from being given to Lie or Swear. For

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* *Cicero* In Orat. pro *Balbo*. *Athenis* aiunt, cum quidam
 apud eos, qui sanctè graviterque vixisset, testimonium pub-
 licè diceret, &, ut mos *Græcorum* est, jurandi causà ad
Aras accederet, unâ voce omnes *Judices*, nè is juraret, re-
 clamasse.

** *Laertii Diogenis* Lib. 4. *Ξενοκράτης ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀξίω-
 πιστος σφόδρα; ὥστε μὴ ἐξόν ἀνάμorton μαρτυρεῖν, τέτω μόνω
 συνεχώρουν Ἀθηναῖοι.*

What Regard had the *Athenians* to Integrity, and how
 like were those Judges of *Athens* to some in our Days, who
 have admitted the solemn Affirmation of the People
 call’d *Quakers*, to be taken instead of an Oath: For which
 Act they shall always be bound to have a grateful Remem-
 brance, and cannot but admire, when they look back and
 consider the Sufferings they underwent for refusing to swear,
 the good Hand of Providence towards them, which inspir’d
 the Legislature, with such beneficent Principles, and so
 tender a Regard to the Base of the Subject.

‘ an *Oath is a Definitive Testimony with a divine
 ‘ Assumption. But he that is once faithful, how
 ‘ shall he render himself so unfaithful as to stand
 ‘ in Need of an Oath, and not let his whole Life
 ‘ be one firm and definitive Oath, and shew the
 ‘ Faithfulness of his Testimony by the Steadiness
 ‘ of his Life and Conduct, and being always true
 ‘ to his Word. He therefore never Swears, for
 ‘ the Form of Speech he uses when he affirms any
 ‘ Thing, is *Yes*, and when he denies any Thing,
 ‘ *No*. But to Swear is to use an Oath, or some-
 ‘ thing like an Oath, with a Design to enforce Be-
 ‘ lief. To him it is sufficient only to add to what
 ‘ he denies or affirms, *I speak truly*, for a Con-
 ‘ firmation to those who see not the Stability of
 ‘ his Answer. It behoves him then, I think, to
 ‘ lead a Life that may gain him such Credit a-
 ‘ mongst those without, that they may not re-
 ‘ quire an Oath of him, and to have in himself
 ‘ and towards his intimate Friends, a Disposition
 ‘ and Equity of Mind, that is ever willing to do
 ‘ what is just. — He is one that believes that God
 ‘ is

* Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum Lib. 7. pag. 801. Ox-
 onii Editio. Πολλὰ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἐν τοιαύτῃ εὐσεβείᾳ ἐξεταζόμε-
 νον, πρὶν χεῖρον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ Ψεύσασθαι, περὶ τοῦ ὁμοσαι.
 ἔρκος μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ὁμολογία καθοριστικὴ μετὰ προσπαράλη-
 ψεως δέας. Longe autem abest ut qui in tali pietate pro-
 batus est, sit ad mentiendum propensus & ad jurandum : est
 enim jusjurandum Confessio definitiva cum divinâ Assumpti-
 one. Qui est autem semel fidelis, quomodo seipsum infide-
 lem præbuerit, ut etiam opus habeat jurejurando, & non
 ita vitam instituat, ut ea sit firmum ac definitum jusjuran-
 dum, fidemque ostendat confessionis in constanti stabili-
 vitâ & Sermone. — Sed neque jurat, ut qui in Affirmati-
 one quidem, *Ita*, in Negatione, *Non*, usurpare constituerit.
 Jurare enim est jusjurandum, vel tanquam jusjurandum,
 mente conceptum proferre ad aliquid persuadendum.
 Sufficit ergo ei vel Affirmationi vel negationi addere illud
vere dico, ut fidem iis faciat, qui responsi ejus non perspi-
 ciunt Stabilitatem. &c.

‘ is every where, and being asham’d not to speak
 ‘ the Truth, and knowing it to be unbecoming
 ‘ him to Lie, he is contented with the Witness of
 ‘ God and his own Conscience only, and there-
 ‘ fore never Lies, nor does any Thing contrary
 ‘ to his Agreement. * *He never swears an Oath,*
 ‘ *tho’ requir’d, nor can he be brought to deny the*
 ‘ *Truth and to speak a Falshood, tho’ he were to die*
 ‘ *upon the Rack.*

AGREEABLE with this Account of a Christian’s
 Belief and Practice, is what † *Tertullian, Origen,*
Cyprian, Basil, Theodoret, and others of the Ancients,
 have deliver’d as the Belief and Practice of Christi-
 ans ; but to give the general and united Sense of the
 Fathers upon the Words of Christ *Mat. v. 34.* we
 shall transcribe the Exposition which *Theophylact*,
 who is reckon’d to be an Epitomizer of *Chrysos-*
tom, has given of these Words ‘ *For whatsoever is*
 ‘ *more than these cometh of Evil.* * That is, to
 ‘ swear, it being more than Yea and Nay, is of
 ‘ the Devil. But thou wilt say then, was the
 ‘ Law of *Moses* evil, which commandeth to
 L 3 ‘ swear ?

* ταύτη δὲ οὐδὲ ὁμνυσιν ὅρκον ἀπαιτιθεὶς, οὐδὲ ἕξαρνος
 ποτὲ γίνεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ψεύσῃται, καὶ ἐναποδνήσκῃ τοῖς βασάνοις.
 Ea ratione neque jurat, si fuerit rogatus ; neque unquam
 negat, ne falsum dicat, etiam si moriatur in Tormentis.

† Tertul. de Idololatriâ. Taceo de perjurio, quando ne
 jurare liceat. *Origen.* Comment in Jer. 4. *Cyprian.* Testimo-
 nium a : Quirinum Lib. 3. Dico vobis, non jurare in totum.
 Sit autem Sermo vester, Est, Est, Non, Non. *Basil.* Com-
 ment. in Pla. xiv. *Theodoret* ad Græc. Sermo ix. de Legibus.
 καὶ περὶ ὅρκων ὁ νόμος τιθεὶς, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπαγορεύει τὰς ὀρκους,
 ἀπὸ χρητῶν λέγων τὸ Ναὶ, καὶ τὸ Οὐ, πρὸς τὴν τῶν λεγομένων
 βεβαίωσιν. Cumque de jurejurando mentionem faceret, ju-
 rare prorsus inhibuit ; satis esse inquires ad confirmanda ea
 quæ loquamur, si dixerimus, Est, Non eit.

* *Theophylact* in Mat. v. Τὸ ὁμνύειν, περιανδρὶ παρὰ τὸ ναὶ
 α ἢ το οὐ, τὴ διαβολῇ ἐστίν. ἀλλ’ ἐρεῖς ὅτι καὶ λοιπὸν ὁ νόμος
 Νύσσας

‘ swear? Learn therefore, that it was not Evil to
 ‘ swear then, but after Christ it is evil, as it is
 ‘ also to be circumcised; and simply to Judaize.

THIS being the general Sense of the Ancient
 Christians, we shall give also the Sense of an anci-
 ent Jew about Swearing. *Philo*, who liv’d soon
 after the Death of Christ, says, ‘ * It would be
 ‘ very profitable and most agreeable to Man
 ‘ endow’d with Reason, to abstain altogether
 ‘ from Swearing, and so accustom himself to
 ‘ Truth, that a bare *Yes* or *No* might have the
 ‘ Force of an Oath.

It is now left to the judicious Reader to deter-
 mine, whether the *Quakers*, who take Christ to
 have prohibited all Swearing, be in the Right, or
 those who say he has only prohibited profane
 Swearing and voluntary Oaths. And let those
 who talk much of the Faith and Tradition of their
 Church, and yet teach that ’tis lawful for a Chri-
 stian to swear before a Magistrate, reconcile such
 Doctrine to the Faith and Tradition of the holy
 Apostles and Ancient Fathers.

Μωσεώς, κελεύων ὀμνύειν, πονηρὸς ἦν; μάθε ὦν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς
 πονηρῶν τότε τὸ ὀμνύειν, μετὰ δὲ χριστὸν ἐστὶ πονηρὸν, ὥσπερ
 καὶ τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι, καὶ ἀπλῶς τὸ Ἰουδαΐζειν. Jurare (in-
 quit) & adjicere amplius ad etiam vel non, a Diabolo est.
 Porro si dixeris quòd & lex Moïsi mala erit, quoniam jurare
 jubet: discce quòd tunc non erat malum jurare: post Chri-
 stum autem malum est, sicut & circumcidi, & in summa
 quicquid est Judaicum.

§ Philonis Judæi Liber de Decalogo. κάλλιστον δὲ καὶ
 βίαιοφελέστατον καὶ ἀρμόττον λογικῇ φύσει, τὸ ἀνώμοτον, οὕτως
 ἀληθεύειν ἐφ’ ἐκάστου δεδιδασγμένη, ὡς τοὺς λόγους ὁρκούς εἰνᾶε
 νομίζεσθαι. Proinde utilissimum fuerit & rationali naturæ
 convenientissimum omnino abstinere à jurejurando, & sic ve-
 ritati assuefcere, ut simplex Sermo vim juramenti habeat.

O F

BAPTISM

A N D T H E

LORD'S SUPPER.

TH E Principles of the *Quakers* are much objected against, because they use not Water-Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, so call'd.

'Tis true the *Quakers* use not the Ceremony of Water-Baptism, nor do they take what is call'd the Lord's Supper with Bread and Wine, because it does not appear to them by the Scriptures, that Christ did institute or ordain such Ceremonies: Christ was indeed himself baptized by *John* in the River *Jordan*, and thereby testify'd his Approbation of *John's* Mission to baptize, who was sent of God; for 'tis said, *when Jesus came to Jordan unto John to be baptized of him, John forbade him, saying, Mat. 3. 13, I have Need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me: And Jesus answering, said unto him, suffer it to be so NOW; for thus it becometh us to fulfil all Righteousness. Then he suffer'd him.* 14, 15.

CHRIST also was circumcised and conform'd to the Rites and Ceremonies appointed the *Jews* by *Moses*; and a little before his Death, 'tis said, *On the first Day of unleaven'd Bread, when the PASSOVER must be killed, he sent Peter and John, Luke 22. saying, Go, and prepare the PASSOVER that we may eat. Now this Passover-Supper he eat with his*

L 4

Disciples

Disciples, and we do not find by the Scriptures that he vary'd from the Customary Way of eating it, observ'd by the *Jews*; nor that he gave his Disciples any Directions to observe it in a different Manner, or at other Times, than usual.

BUT some to prove that Christ instituted and ordain'd a new Supper different from the Passover, which they call the Lord's Supper, allege the Words of the Apostle *Paul* in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, viz. *That the Lord Jesus the same Night in which he was betray'd, took Bread, and when he had given Thanks he brake it, and said, Take eat this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in Remembrance of me: after the same Manner also he took the Cup when he had supped saying, This Cup is the new Testament in my Blood: this do ye, as oft as you drink it, in Remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come.* Now these Words of the Apostle are only a Relation of what Christ did and said when he eat the Supper the Night in which he was betray'd, and it agrees almost Word for Word with the Relation *Luke* gives of Christ's eating the Passover, and since the other Evangelists *Matthew* and *Mark* call it also the Passover, we see no Grounds in Scripture any have to think, or conclude, that Christ instituted or ordain'd a New Supper different from that of the Passover.

WHEN the Evangelist *Luke* had related that the Disciples did as Jesus commanded them, and made ready the Supper, he says, *And when the Hour was come he sat down and the twelve Disciples with him. And he said unto them, with Desire I have desired to EAT THIS PASSOVER with you before I suffer. For I say unto you, I will not any more eat thereof, until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.* And

1 Cor. 9.
23, 24, 25
26

Luke 22.
14.

And he took the Cup and gave Thanks, and said, take this and divide it among your selves. For I say unto you, I will not drink of the Fruit of the Vine, until the Kingdom of God shall come. And he took Bread and gave Thanks, and brake it and gave unto them saying, This is my Body which is given for you: this do in Remembrance of me: Likewise also the Cup after Supper, saying, This Cup is the new Testament in my Blood, which is shed for you.

HERE we may observe, that the Circumstances of taking the Bread, and the Cup, and giving Thanks, and dividing it among his Disciples, are the very same which the Apostle related to the *Corinthians*, so that we can find no Reason at all, from what the Apostle has said, to conclude that Christ instituted a new Supper. For tho' the Apostle, when he blames the *Corinthians* for their irregular Practice in Eating and Drinking when they met together, says, *This is not to eat the Lord's Supper*, yet that is no Argument or Proof that what he call'd the Lord's Supper, was a new Institution of Christ's, different from the *Passover-Supper*. In the Apostle's Relation or Account of that Supper, which he says he had receiv'd of the Lord, there is no new Circumstance, no different Time appointed whereby to denominate it a new Institution, and it might be call'd the Lord's Supper by the *Corinthians* and others, inasmuch as Christ their Lord and Master did so solemnly observe the Passover with his Disciples, in the same Night in which he was betray'd. And the Evangelist *John* relates another Circumstance omitted by the other Evangelists, which was observ'd by Christ at that last Supper, and that is, His washing of the Disciples Feet, and saying after he had done, *Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am, if I then your Lord and Master have* Joh. 13.
washed

*washed your Feet, ye also ought to wash one another's Feet. For I have given you an Example, that ye should do as I have done to you. **

Now

* Besides the Circumstances mention'd by *Luke* and *John*, *Matthew* and *Mark* take Notice of their singing an *Hymn* at the Close of the Supper: Now this was also a Thing practis'd by the *Jews* at the Close of their Passover-Supper, and is observ'd to this Day according to *Leo Modena*, a *Venetian Rabbi's* Account, for he says, ' Instead of the Ceremony which was formerly observ'd, of eating the Paschal Lamb, as it is written, *Exod. xii.* where it is particularly said, *And they shall eat the Flesh in that Night, roast with Fire, and unleavened Bread, and with bitter Herbs shall they eat it, &c.* They have in a Bason a little Basket, a piece of Lamb or Kid, and unleavened Cakes and bitter Herbs, as Parsly, Endive or Lettice, and the like, with a little Sawcer of Pickle for Sawce; in memory of the Chalk and Bricks, which their Forefathers wrought in when they were in *Egypt*: And holding Cups of Wine in their Hands, they repeat the *Hagada*, which contains a Repetition of the Miseries which they suffer'd, and the Miracles which God wrought for their Deliverance. Then they praise God for all the Benefits they have receiv'd, and say the 113th, and those following Psalms, which they call *Hallel*, and then they make an End of those Psalms, other Praises and Thanksgivings proper to the Day, and so go to Bed. And *M. Pool* in his Annotations on these Words of *Matthew* ch. xxvi. 30. *And when they had sung an Hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives*, says, ' That the *Jews* were wont to close their Passover-Supper with singing an *Hymn* I do not doubt; Nor that they had some particular *Psalms* or *Hymns*, which they used at that Time to sing: But whether it were any of these, that our Saviour at this Time praised God with, I cannot tell, much less, whether he designed this Praising of God, with particular Relation to the Paschal-Supper, or His Supper, which he had now instituted, or both. Here we see the Annotator by taking it that Christ had instituted a new Supper, is at a Loss to which he must apply the Hymn that was sung, whereas 'tis evident that all the Transactions at that Supper from first to last, were no other than Jewish Practices, and therefore no new Supper was instituted.

History of
the present
Jews. Par.
3. Ch. 3.

They are
the Psalms
which be-
gin with
Hallelujah.
F. Simon

Now, neither this Circumstance of washing the Disciples Feet, nor the Circumstances of taking the Bread and the Cup, and giving Thanks, and dividing it, were any other than what were practised by the *Jews* when they celebrated the Passover, if we may credit the learned *Godwin*, who says in his Account of their Passover, ‘** They blessed the Cup and blessed the Bread, and divided it amongst the Guests, and wash’d the Feet of those that sat at Table. Thus Christ when Supper was ended, washed his Disciples Feet. Then he that blessed the Table proceeded to declare that the Passover was in Respect that the Lord passed over the Houses of their Fathers in Egypt. Secondly, he held up the bitter Herbs in his Hand. and said, these bitter Herbs which we eat are in Respect that the Egyptians made the Lives of our Fathers bitter in Egypt. Thirdly, he held up the unleavened Bread in his Hand, and said, this unleavened Bread which we eat is in Respect that the Dough of our Fathers had not Time to be leavened, when the Lord appeared unto them, and redeemed them out of the Hand of the Enemy. Hence the Apostle borroweth his Phrase, As often as ye shall eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye shall declare or shew forth the Lord’s Death, 1 *Cor.* xi. 26.

By this Account of the *Jewish* Passover, it is plain that nothing new or extraordinary was done by Christ at his last Supper with his Disciples, but what was us’d to be done amongst the *Jews*, by the Master of the Feast at the celebrating the Passover; and we think the Words of Christ when

** See *Godwin’s Moses and Aaron*, Lib. 2. Chap. iv.

Luke . . . when he gave the Bread, *This do in Remembrance of me*, and when he gave the Cup, *This do ye, as of as ye drink it, in Remembrance of me*, have a manifest Relation to the Bread and Cup us'd at the Passover-Supper, and direct nothing *New*, but that the Disciples (who Christ knew very well would continue in the Practice and Observation of the Passover, as well as other Jewish Rites and Ceremonies) should as often as they practis'd that Rite, do it in Remembrance of him. They had been us'd to eat the Passover-Supper, as other *Jews* did, in Remembrance of the great Deliverance their Fore-Fathers had out of Egypt; but Christ taught them, that something more was typify'd by the Bread and the Cup.

WHEN he * brake and gave the Bread, he said, *this is my Body*, and when he gave the Cup, this is the new Testament in my Blood, *therefore as often as you do this, do it in Remembrance of me*. Now the Words *as often as you do this*, are not imperative or commanding, they are not the Words of a new Institution, they neither positively command nor direct; they neither prefix a Time *When*, nor do they prescribe a Manner *How*, the Thing should be

* Augustine says Our Lord made no Difficulty of saying *this is my Body*, when he only exhibited the Sign of his Body. Epist. contra Adamantum τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα μου *This is my Body*, τὸ αὐτὸ, *this*, which is of the Neuter Gender, cannot be relative to ἄρτος Bread, which is of the Masculine Gender: τὸ αὐτὸ here refers τὸ ἐκλάσσει, ἐδώκεν. Luke 22. 19. *this Breaking, this Giving, is a Symbol or Representation of the Breaking my Body for you, as St. Paul; of the giving my Body for you, as St. Luke; of giving my Life a Ransom for you, as St. Matthew Chap xx. 28. The Stile is the same here, as was us'd Exod. xii, 11. Ye shall eat in Haste, it is the Lord's Passover. See the Note on Mat. xxvi. 26. in the new Testament Greek and English.*

be perform'd, but without any positive Injunction, leave it to be done as before.

Now we cannot conceive how a positive Rite or Ordinance can properly be said to be instituted, when neither the Time *When*, nor the Manner *How*, it should be perform'd is prescrib'd, therefore we conclude that Christ did not institute a new Supper after the Passover-Supper, as some have imagined. For can it be thought all the four Evangelists would have been silent, and have taken no Notice of such a Supper, if their Lord and Master had solemnly instituted it; a Supper too of that vast Importance as some would make it. But so it is, for not one of them do so much as mention, or take any Notice of a *new Supper* instituted by Christ, but most expressly call the Supper which Christ eat with his Disciples, the Night in which he was betray'd, the *Passover*, and *Luke*, in particular, relates that Christ himself call'd it the Passover, *With Desire*, says he to his Disciples, Luke 22: 15. *I have desir'd to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.* And,

WE think there needs no stronger Argument to prove that Christ instituted no new Supper, than the Disorders amongst the *Corinthians* in eating the Lord's Supper* *When ye come together*, says

* Not only the Disorders which* were in the *Corinthian Church*, are a strong Argument, That no Fix'd Time or Rule had been establish'd for observing that Supper, but also the great and long Controversies which were between the Eastern and Western Churches, beginning soon after the Apostles, about observing the Feast of Easter; each, says Dr. *Cave*, standing very stiffly upon their own Way, and justifying themselves by Apostolical Practice and Tradition. See *Cave's* *Life of Polycarp.*
 ' The Eastern Churches alleg'd, That the 14th Day of the Euseb. Lib. 5. Ch. 23.
 ' Moon ought to be observed as the Salutory Feast of East-
 ' er; viz. The same Day whereon the *Jews* were com-
 ' manded

says the Apostle, *into one Place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper. For in eating every one taketh before another his own Supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What have ye not Houses to eat and to drink in? Or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you in this? I praise you not.*

1 Cor. 11. Is it probable, or any ways likely, if Christ had ordained a *new Supper* to be solemnly kept and observ'd in the Place of the *Passover-Supper*, that the *Corinthians* in so short a Time as about 25 Years after the Institution, could so grossly pervert and mistake the Design of it. 'Tis most reasonable therefore, we think, to conclude, that no *new Supper* was instituted by Christ; but that the *Corinthians* did celebrate, tho' in an irregular and disorderly Manner, the *Passover-Supper*. And we are induced to think so from the Words of the Apostle

The first Epistle to the Corinthians is thought to be written in the Year 59, that is about 25 Years after Christ's Death.

manded to kill the Lamb. The Western Churches alleg'd from Apostolick Tradition, that it ought to be kept no other Day save that of the Resurrection of our Saviour: But in Opposition to this *Polycrates* at the Head of the Bishops of *Asia* sent an Epistle to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, who had threatned to excommunicate all the Churches of *Asia*, if they would not follow his Practice; in which he says,

We observe the true and genuine Day, having neither added any Thing, nor taken any Thing from the uninterrupted Usage deliver'd to us. Notwithstanding this, *Eusebius* says, *Victor* did immediately attempt to cut off from the common Unity the Churches of all *Asia*, together with the adjoining Churches, as having given their Assent to Heterodox Opinions. Here we see the Tradition of one Apostle pleaded against the Tradition of another, which shows very evidently, that what was done by the Apostles, was not from any establish'd Rule, or positive Ordinance of Christ, but rather in Imitation of the Jewish Passover: And this is confirm'd in a manner, by the Controversy which is at this Day between the *Greek* and *Latin* Church, whether in the Eucharist or Lord's Supper, it ought to be leavened or unleavened Bread.

Cave's Primitive Christianity, ch. 9

Apostle, *For I have receiv'd * of the Lord that which also I deliver'd unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same Night in which he was betray'd, took Bread, and when he had given Thanks he brake it, and said take eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in Remembrance of me. After the same Manner also he took the Cup when he had supped, saying, This Cup is the new Testament in my Blood, this do ye, as oft as you drink it, in Remembrance of me. This is what the Apostle tells the Corinthians he had deliver'd to them, but this is no other than a Relation of the Passover-Supper, according to the Words of Luke the Evangelist. But the following Words are a Declaration of the Nature and Design of that Supper, in the Manner Christ had explain'd it to his Disciples, and also a Caution that none of them for the future, might celebrate it as they had done, in an indecent and unworthy Manner. For as oft, says the Apostle, as ye eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death, till he come. Wherefore whosoever shall eat this Bread and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord. But let a Man examine himself, and so let him eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh Damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's Body. For this Cause many are weak and sickly amongst you, and many sleep.*

1 Cor. II.
23, 24, 25.

ver. 26, 27,
28, 29, 30.

THESE

* *Pool's Annot.* ' Some think that Paul received this from the Lord by *immediate Revelation*, (as it is thought Moses receiv'd the History we have in *Genesis*, and Part of *Exodus*, which relates to a Time before he was born, or arrived to Man's Estate) Others think that he receiv'd it from St. *Luke's* Writings, (for the Words are quoted according to his Gospel) Others think he received it from some other of the Apostles : Certain it is, that he did receive it from the Lord, how, is uncertain.

THESE Words of the Apostle, we take it, were principally given as a Caution to those *Corinthians*, who had so shamefully behav'd themselves at that solemn Feast, and therefore he says, *whosoever shall eat this Bread and drink this Cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord.* But tho' this was a very necessary Caution to prevent for the future, such disorderly Persons as were among the *Corinthians*, from prophaning a Supper which typify'd the Death of Christ, yet the Apostle neither commands nor enjoins the *Corinthians* to celebrate that Supper: He only says, *For as oft as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come.*

These Words do not positively command or enjoin: They are not obligatory or binding upon the *Corinthians* to eat the Bread and drink the Cup us'd at that Supper.

BUT, some will have it that the Apostles Words, *as often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come*, do import the necessary Observation of what they call the Lord's Supper, until the Coming of Christ to Judgment at the End of the World. This we conceive is an Opinion which has no Foundation in Scripture, but is grounded upon a Mistake; since it does not appear that the Words, *till he come*, import or imply the Coming of Christ at the End of the World, in the Sense of those who object it: For by Scripture it is very evident that Christ spake of his coming very *suddenly*, and the Disciples had receiv'd a Notion that he would come again, even whilst some of them were living, this 'tis likely they might ground upon the Words of Christ, when he spake of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Calamities that would precede it. *For they ask'd him privately saying,*
tell

tell us when these Things shall be? And what shall be the Sign of thy * Coming, and of the End of the World. And Jesus answered, and said unto them, Mat. 24: Take Heed that no Man deceive you, for ** many 3.—9: shall come in my Name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many. And ye shall hear of Wars, and Rumours of Wars, see that ye be not troubled: for all these Things must come to pass, but the End is not yet. For † Nation shall rise against Nation, and
M Kingdom

* Pool's Annotat. ' They desire to know the Signs of these Times; that is, Prognostick Signs, which might beforehand instruct them that the Time was nigh, even at hand. They name two Things here which Time hath told us were to be at more than sixteen Hundred Years distance one from another; for Historians tell us, that *Jerusalem* was destroyed within seventy or seventy one Years after our Saviour's Birth, within less than forty Years after this Discourse; but it is probable that they put them together, as believing that *Jerusalem* should not be destroy'd, till the Day when Christ should come to Judge the World, and that the End of the World; and of the Jewish State, should come together. And as we all are naturally curious to know Things that are to come, so these Disciples were in this Thing particularly curious, having some particular Apprehensions of the Coming and Kingdom of Christ, according to the Mistaken Notion which the Jews had of that Kingdom, which their expected *Messiah* should exercise in the World.

** ' Our Saviour seemeth to have given this as a Sign common both to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the End of the World, tho' possibly before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, while the Jews were in Expectation of a *Messiah*, as a Temporal Prince or Deliverer, there were more of them than afterward; for every one who could get a Party together to colour his *Sedition* and *Rebellion*, gave out himself to be the *Christ*. Of this Number are said to have been *Theudas*, and *Judas* of *Galilee* mention'd by *Gamaliel*, Acts v. 36, 37.

† ' Interpreters think this Prophecy did chiefly respect the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, for the Time from our Saviour's Death, to that Time, was full of Seditions and Insurrections, both in *Judea* and elsewhere. The Truth of our Saviour's Words, as to this, is attested by *Josephus* largely from Chap. xi. of his second Book of the Wars of the Jews,

Vers. 34.

Joh. 21. 21
22, 23.

*Kingdom against Kingdom, and there shall be Famines and Pestilence, and Earthquakes in divers Places. All these are the Beginning of Sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you, and ye shall be hated of all Nations for my Name's Sake.—Verily I say unto you, This * Generation shall not pass till these Things be fulfilled. And when Peter ask'd the Question concerning the Disciple whom Jesus lov'd, saying, Lord, and what shall this Man do? Jesus saith unto him, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me. Then went this Saying abroad among the Brethren, that that Disciple shou'd not die: yet Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die, but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Here we find the Disciples or Brethren, had got a Notion that Christ's Coming again was not far off. And the Apostle Paul, in this very Epistle, shews that he entertain'd the same Opinion. And therefore advised the Corinthians thus, That ye come behind*

* Jews, to the End of the fourth Book. Besides, that there were great Wars between Orho, and Vitellius and Vespasian, the Roman Emperors, who succeeded Nero, we read of one Famine, Acts xi. 28. which Agabus there prophesied should be in the Time of Claudius Caesar. Of Earthquakes in several Places, mention is made in divers Histories. Our Saviour tells them, that these Things should be, but the End should not be presently, which any one that will read Josephus his History of the Wars of the Jews, will see abundantly verified upon the Taking of Jerusalem by the Roman Armies.

* There are several Notions Men have of that Term, *This Generation*; some by it understand *Mankind*, others the *Generation of Christians*; others, the whole *Generation of the Jews*: but doubtless our Saviour means the *Set of Men that were at that Time in the World*. Those who were at that Time living, should not all die, until all these Things shall be fulfilled, all that he had spoken with Reference to the Destruction of Jerusalem.

See Mat.
26. 28.

behind in no Gift, waiting for the Coming of our Lord 1 Cor. 1.
 Jesus Christ, who shall confirm you unto the End, that 10, 11.
 ye may be blameless in the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ.
 And farther on in the same Epistle, speaking of
 the Judgments which came upon the Israelites for
 their Disobedience, he says, *Now all these Things* ch. x. 12;
happened to them for Ensamples, and they were writ-
ten for our Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the
World are come. And in his Epistle to the Philippi-
 ans, he also plainly intimates that it was his Opinion,
 and exhorts them, as if Christ was just then about
 to appear, *That ye may approve Things that are ex-* Phil. 1. 10.
cellent, that ye may be sincere and without Offence till
the Day of Christ: Let your Moderation be known ch. 4. 5.
unto all Men, the Lord is at Hand. And James
 and Peter inculcate the same Opinion very strong-
 ly in their Epistles, and use it as an Argument
 that the Brethren should not be discouraged at
 their Afflictions, but be the more watchful and
 vigilant in all their Actions. *Be ye therefore pati-*
ent, says James, unto the Coming of the Lord. James 5.
Behold the Husbandman waiteth for the precious Fruit 9. 10.
of the Earth, and bath long Patience for it, until he
receive the early and latter Rain. Be ye also patient,
stablish your Hearts, for the Coming of the Lord
draweth nigh. And by the second Epistle of Pe-
 ter it very plainly appears, that the Brethren at
 that Time were in daily Expectation of the Lord's
 Coming, and some began to think that he delay'd
 his Coming, and were ready to faint and grow
 weary in Waiting.

WE have brought these Passages to show, that
 it was an establish'd and very current Opinion a-
 mongst the Brethren, in the Time of the Apo-
 stles, and when Paul writ his Epistle to the Co-
 rinthians, that the Lord's Coming was near at
 Hand, and not at the Distance of so many Ages

as have pass'd since : Therefore they who use these Words of the Apostle, *Ye do shew the Lord's Death till he come*, as an Argument for the necessary Continuance of that Outward and Ceremonious Rite call'd the Lord's Supper, throughout all Ages to the End of the World, have no Foundation, that we can find in Scripture, to support such an Opinion.

CERTAINLY, if our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, had design'd or intended, that such external Rites as Water-Baptism, and a Supper with Bread and Wine, should be perpetual standing Ordinances in his Church, necessarily to be observ'd by his Followers every where in the World, he would have been very exact and particular in the Institution of them, and not have left it to be continually disputed *at what Time, in what Manner*, and *by Whom* the Ordinances should be administred.*

IF

* Not only these Particulars, but many others too tedious to be here related, have been the Subjects of Dispute, so that a bare History of the different Opinions about these external Rites, would be a very good Confutation of them. Soon after the Apostles we find, by two or three old Writers, that they held an Opinion That the Holy Spirit descended upon the Bread and Wine ; and tis said by one of them* ' That when the Bread and Wine ' perceive the Word of God, then it becomes the Eucharist ' of the Body and Blood of Christ. And agreeable to this Notion, they had, we are told, a Form of Prayer or Invocation in these Words, ' ** We beseech thee, that thou would'st be ' pleas'd to look down upon these Oblations presented before thee, Thou God that wantest nothing, and send down ' thy Spirit upon this Sacrifice commemorative of the Sufferings of our Lord Jesus, that this Bread may be unto us ' the

* Irenaeus Lib. 5. Cap. 4. Quando mixtus Calix & fractus Panis percipit Verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia sanguinis & Corporis Christi.

** Reeve's Apologies of Justin Martyr, p. 110, 2d Edit.

IF Water-Baptism, and what is now call'd the Lord's Supper, had really been the Institutions
M 3 and

‘ the Body of thy Christ, and this Cup the Blood of thy
‘ Christ. *After the Bread was thus consecrated, it was thought to have mighty Virtues, and it was usual in those Days for Children and sucking Infants to receive the Sacrament.* And of such Moment was the Taking of it thought to be, that 'tis said, when a little sucking Girl refused to taste the Sacramental Wine, the Deacon violently forc'd it down her Throat. This is deliver'd as the most Ancient and Primitive Opinion. But about the Twelfth Century, which might be very well term'd the Midnight of Superstition amongst Christians; The Opinion was, That the Words of Consecration said by a Priest, abolish'd the Substance of the Bread, and substituted the Body of Christ in the Room of it. Hence the Doctrine of Transubstantiation took its Rise, and 'tis now the Opinion of the Papists, That the Bread in the Eucharist is transubstantiated into the Body of Christ, and to be Adored and offer'd up to God as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Quick and the Dead. At the Dawn of the Reformation, this appear'd very absurd to Martin Luther, and he was of Opinion, That the Sacrament consisted of the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, together with the Substance of Bread and Wine, And therefore the Lutherans are said to hold Consubstantiation. The Calvinists, Arminjans and Socinians, hold that no Substance is given by the Celebrator, except that of Bread and Wine; And the Opinion of the Church of England is according to Hooker's** Account, That the Bread is not Christ's Body, nor the Wine his Blood, any where but in the Heart and Soul of the true Christian that receives them. But the late Dr. Hicks and others of his Opinion will have it, that the first establish'd Doctrine of the Church of England is, * That the Eucharist is an unbloody Sacrifice, but they do not mean, ‘ What is commonly call'd the Sacrifice of the Mass, not ‘ the substantial Body and Blood of Christ, much less his ‘ Divinity; but the Bread and Wine, substituted by the ‘ Divine Word for his own Body and Blood; and, upon ‘ which, God, at the Prayers of the Priests and People, ‘ lends*

* Enquiry into the Constitut. of the Primitive Church. 2d. Part. pag. 144, and 146. 1st Edit.

** Hooker's Abridgment, pag. 143.

* Johnson's unbloody Sacrifice, pag. 211.

and Ordinances of Christ, in the Place of Circumcision and the Passover, as 'tis commonly alleg'd; can it be thought Christ would have been more deficient in the Institution of them, than *Moses* was of Circumcision and the Passover? Now 'tis well known, that *Moses* left plain and positive Directions *When*, and *in what Manner*, Circumcision should be perform'd, and thereby took away all Occasion of Dispute and Difference about it, And in the Institution of the *Passover* he was very careful, and told the *Jews* the very Day *When*, and the *Manner How*, they should perform it, and we have not heard that any considerable Difference

' sends down his peculiar Spiritual Benediction, by which it
 ' becomes a Sacrifice of a sweet smelling Savour, as being
 ' therefore fully consecrated into the spiritual Body and
 ' Blood of Christ, and therefore fit wherewith to propitiate the divine Mercy. *A strange Opinion this last, if not more absurd than the propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass! What, is a Piece of Consecrated Bread as 'tis call'd, whose Substance it not chang'd into the Body of Christ, fit to propitiate the divine Mercy? Reader, which of these Opinions must we follow, each of them being equally contended for as the Only true One, by the several Denominations? May not the Words of Christ be understood spiritually, when at the Celebration of the Passover, he took Bread and bless'd it, and said to his Disciples: Take eat, This is my Body? Especially since at another Time, when he spake of eating his Flesh and drinking his Blood, and the Disciples thought it a hard Saying, He himself explain'd it to them saying, It is the Spirit that quickneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing; the Words that I speak unto you, they are Spirit, and they are Life. He also promis'd his Disciples, that he would send them the Spirit, the Comforter, in his Name, which should abide with them always, and bring all Things to their Remembrance, whatsoever he had told them: What Need then have such as witness in themselves that Promise of Christ to be fulfilled, to use an external Rite or Ceremony to bring him or his Death to their Remembrance? Can there be a better or more blessed Remembrancer, than his own Spirit in the Hearts of the Faithful? And is not a daily Imitation of his Life. the best Way of commemorating his Death?*

Joh. 14. 26.

ference has ever risen amongst that People about performing either *Circumcision* or the *Passover*, and yet they have practis'd and observ'd these two Rites or Ceremonies, much longer than Christians have Water-Baptism and what they call the *Eucharist* or Lord's Supper:

Now we appeal to the Judgment of every sincere, judicious and unbiass'd Person, whether it does not derogate from, and lessen very much the Wisdom of Christ Jesus, to assert and lay it down as Doctrine necessarily to be believed, that he instituted *Water-Baptism* in the Place of *Circumcision*, and the *Eucharist* or *Lord's Supper*, in the Room of the *Passover*, tho' he left no positive or particular Directions about them: If therefore the *Quakers* not finding in Scripture any Directions given *When* or in *What Manner* to perform those Rites or Ceremonies, and yet believing that Christ's Wisdom was not inferior, but infinitely superior to *Moses's*, from thence infer and conclude that he never did institute Water-Baptism in the Place of Circumcision; nor what is now call'd the *Eucharist* or Lord's Supper in the Place of the *Passover* Supper: We say, since this has been and is the real and stedfast Belief of the *Quakers*, wherein have they, in not using those outward Ceremonies, disobey'd any Command or Ordinance of Christ?*

M 4

AND

* The Quakers are so far from disobeying any Command or Ordinance of Christ, that they have always paid the greatest Regard and Obedience to every Command which they believ'd to be his. The Imprisonments and long Confinements in Holes and Dungeons, which many of them patiently suffer'd rather than swear or take an Oath when requir'd, because Christ had said to his Disciples, swear not at all, are a sufficient Testimony of the Regard and Obedience they pay the Commands of Christ: And a great many Instances might be given of their deep sufferings

Gal. 4. 9. AND if, in *Christ Jesus* neither *Circumcision* avail-
 ch. 3. 3. eth any Thing, nor *Uncircumcision*, but a New Crea-
 ch. 6. 16. ture, as the Apostle declar'd to the *Galatians*,
 who had begun in the Spirit, and were turning a-
 gain to the weak and beggarly Elements: If all
 ch. 5. 14. the Law is fulfill'd in one Word, even in this, Thou
 shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self: And, if as the
 Author to the *Hebrews* says, outward Rites and
 Ceremonies could do nothing as pertaining to the
 Heb. 9. 9. Conscience, have the *Quakers* done amiss in laying
 aside Water-Baptism and the Supper with Bread
 and Wine, which are outward Rites and Ceremo-
 nies; and moreover, have long been, and still
 continue to be, the Cause and Occasion of great
 Difference and Divisions among those who bear
 the Christian Name? And there is too much
 Ground to believe, both from Scripture and Ec-
 clestiaſtical History, that the early Disputes and
 Diffensions about outward Rites and Ceremonies,
 were great Lets and Hindrances to the Propaga-
 tion and spreading the Gospel, and lessen'd very
 much the Esteem of Christianity in the Eyes of
 Jews and Gentiles.

BUT, the *Quakers*, instead of *Water-Baptism*,
 and a Supper with Bread and Wine, which are
 Rites

Sufferings in this and other Countries, for observing some other
 Things which they believ'd *Christ* had enjoy'd and commanded
 them. And we believe they would be behind none in the strict
 Observance of *Water-Baptism* and that call'd the *Eucharist* or
 Lord's Supper, if they thought them to be the Ordinances of *Christ*.
 But blessed be the Lord who has been pleas'd by his Spirit, to let
 them see with the Apostle, that the Kingdom of God, is not
 Rom 14. 17. Meat and Drink, but Righteousness and Joy and Peace in
 the Holy Ghost. And also that *Water-Baptism* can do nothing
 towards the washing away of Sin, and purging the Conscience
 from dead Works, nor can Bread and Wine, after a Priest, or
 Minister so call'd, has blessed and prayed over it, afford any
 Nourishment to the Soul.

Rites more suitable to the Law than the Gospel, hold the Baptism of the Spirit, and the Communion or spiritual Supper of the Lord, to be *Essentials* of Christianity. By the Baptism of the Spirit, they understand a Washing, or Purifying, of the Soul from evil Thoughts and vile Affections, or as 'tis express'd by the Apostle *Peter*, a *Purifying of the Soul in obeying the Truth through the Spirit*. 1 Pet. i. 22.

AND, by the Communion or Spiritual Supper of the Lord, they understand a Communion or Supping with Christ in Spirit, which only his obedient Followers, or such as hearken to his Voice are Partakers of, as 'tis said, *Behold I stand at the Door and knock, if any Man hear my Voice and open the Door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him and be with me.* Hence 'tis the Belief of the *Quakers*, that none are fit Partakers of the Lord's Supper, but such as have known and witnessed the Baptism of the Spirit: Nor can any eat and drink spiritually with Christ in his Kingdom, till they have been *born again*, * *not of corruptible Seed, but incorruptible, by the Word of God which liveth and abideth for ever.* Rev. 3. 20. Joh. 3. 3. 1 Pet. 1. 23.

THEY also believe that none are true and living Members of Christ's Body or Church, till they have in some Measure witnessed the Baptism of his Spirit: For 'tis by *one Spirit we are all baptiz'd into one Body.* The Baptism therefore of the Spirit is the only essential Baptism, 'tis that by which we are sav'd, for according to the Apostle *Peter*, *The Baptism which now saveth, is not the putting away the Filth of the Flesh, but the Answer of a good Conscience towards God.* 1 Cor. 12. 13.

THIS

* In the Original it is *ἀνωθεν*, that is, from above, which is the true and proper Reading, and is so put in the Margin of some Bibles.

THIS was the Opinion of *Justin Martyr*, who liv'd about seventy Years after the Apostles. ' What signifies, says he, in his Discourse with ' *Trypho* the Jew, that which only washes the ' Flesh and the Body? Let your Souls be baptized from Anger, from Covetousness, from ' Envy, from Hatred, and then the Body will ' be clean. We do not receive that unprofitable ' Baptism in Pools and Cisterns, for such a ' Washing is not the Baptism of Life. And in ' another Place he says to *Trypho*, ' What signifies Circumcision to me who have the Testimony of God? Or what Occasion has he for ' that Water-Baptism who is baptized with the ' Holy Spirit? *

* Τί ὄφελος ἐκείνῳ τῷ βαπτίσματος, ὃ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαιδρύνει; βαπτισθεὶς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας, ἀπὸ φθόνου, ἀπὸ μίσους. καὶ ἰδὲ τὸ σῶμα καθαρὸν εἶναι. *Justin. Dial. rig. 178.* Οὐ το βαπτισμα ἐκείνο τὸ ἀνωφελεὲς το τῶν λαῶνων προσλαμβάνομεν ἔδεν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ βαπτισμα τὸ τοτὸ τὴ ζωῆς εἶναι. *Idem Dial. p. 182.* These two Passages of *Justin* are cited by *Dr. Mills* among the References in his *Greek Testament*, at the Words of *Peter*, *The like Figure whereunto even Baptism doth also now save us, now the putting away of the Filth of the Flesh, but the Answer of a good Conscience towards God*, &c. 1 *Pet. 3. 20.* *Grosius* also has cited *Justin* in his Annotations on these Words. Again *Justin* says, τίς ἔν ἐτι μοι πρίσμοῦς λόγος ὑπὸ τῷ Θεῷ μαρτυρηθέντι, τίς ἐκείνῳ τῷ βαπτίσματι χρεία ἀγίου πνεύματος βεβαπισμένῳ.

We should have concluded from these Passages of *Justin Martyr*, That Water-Baptism had been wholly rejected by Christians in his Time, as a useless Jewish Ceremony, but that we find, in his Apology he speaks of a Practice then us'd, as many as did believe the Things taught by them, *Eccl. 6. 2.* were brought to a Place of Water, and there regenerated. * This Washing, says he, is call'd Illumination, as enlightning the Understanding of those who learn these Things. However 'tis plain

* καλεῖται δὲ τὸ τοτὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμὸς, ὡς φωτιζόμενον τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μαθάνοντων.

WE shall now endeavour to show that *Water-Baptism* is plainly distinguish'd in Scripture from the

plain by what has been cited from his Discourse with *Trypho* the Jew, That *Baptism* was a Ceremony practis'd by the Jews, and that *Justin* set light by that and Circumcision, in comparison of the Testimony of God, and the Baptism of Life. The Author to the *Hebrews* also speaks Of the *Doctrine of Baptism*, and of *laying on of Hands*, as Things well known to them. And that Baptism was a Ceremony belonging to the Law, will be farther shown from some Passages in the Homilies of *Macarius*, who liv'd about two Centuries after *Justin*, * In Homily 32. he says, ' The Circumcision which was in the Shadow of the Law, points out the true Circumcision of the Heart then approaching; and the *Baptism* of the Law is a Shadow of Things that are true. For that wash'd the Body; But here does the Baptism of Fire and the SPIRIT *purge and wash off the Pollutions of the Mind*. In Hom. 26. The Baptism Now, is that of Fire and the Spirit, and a certain Circumcision perform'd in the Heart. For the Divine and Heavenly Spirit converses in the Mind. In Hom. 47. Speaking of the Jews, he says, ' They were manifested by *Circumcision*, that they were the *People of God*. But here the peculiar People of God, receiveth the Sign of Circumcision within their *Heart: For the Heavenly Sword cutteth off the Superfluity of the Mind, that is, the unclean Foreskin of Sin. Among them *Baptism* sanctified the Flesh: But with us is the Baptism of the *Holy Ghost* and of Fire. For this did *John* Preach. *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*.

This same *Macarius* has also very truly and excellently describ'd what it is to be *Born again*, and be made a true and living Member of *Christ's Church*. In Homily 44, ' He that cometh to God, and desires to be in Truth, the Person that sitteth with *Christ upon his Throne*, ought to come to him upon

* This *Macarius* liv'd in *Egypt*, and *Justin* in *Palestine* among the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, and therefore might know that Baptism was practis'd by the *Jews*.

* *Rom. ii. 28*. For he is not a *Jew* that is one outwardly, neither is that Circumcision which is outward in the Flesh: But he is a *Jew* which is one inwardly; and Circumcision is that of the Heart, in the Spirit, and not in the Letter, whose Praise is not of Men but of God.

the Baptism of the Spirit, and that the first is call'd *John's*, and the second *Christ's* Baptism: I

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- ' upon this very View, that he may be chang'd and pass off
 ' from his former State and Conversation, and to give
 ' Proof of his being a good and a *New Man*, that carries no-
 ' thing of the *Old Man* about him: For if any Man, saith the
 ' Apostle, *be in Christ, he is a new Creature*. For our Lord
 ' Jesus Christ came for this very Reason, that he might al-
 ' ter, and change, and renew and *Create afresh*, this Soul
 ' that had been perverted by *Vile Affections* thro' the Trans-
 ' gression, tempering it with his own *Divine Spirit*. He
 ' came to work a new Mind, and a new Soul, and new Eyes,
 ' new Ears, a new spiritual Tongue, and to speak all at
 ' once, to make them that believe in him *New Men*, or new
 ' Bottles, having anointed them with his own *Light*, that
 ' he might pour into them the *New Wine*, which is his Spi-
 Mat. 9. 17. ' rit. For the new Wine, saith he, *must be put into new Bottles*.
 ' The true *Healing* of the Soul is from the Lord only. For
 ' behold, saith the Baptist, *the Lamb of God that taketh away*
 ' *the Sin of the World*, namely of the Soul that hath believed
 ' in him, and lov'd him with the whole Heart. The Good
 ' Shepherd therefore healeth the scabbed Sheep. But the
 ' Sheep it self can never heal the Sheep. And unless the Ra-
 ' tional Sheep MAN, be healed, there is no Entrance for
 ' him into the Congregation of the Lord in Heaven. For thus
 ' also was it said even in the Law, thro' a Shadow and an
 ' Image. For this is no more than the Spirit intimates, tho'
 ' but obscurely, concerning him that is a Leper, and that
 ' hath a Blemish. A Leper, saith he, or one that hath a Blem-
 Lev. 21. ' ish, shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord. But
 17, 21. ' he commanded the Leper to go to the Priest, and with much
 ' Intreaty to bring him into the House of his Tabernacle, and
 ' that there he wou'd put his Hands upon the Leprosy, the
 ' Place mark'd with the Infection, and heal it. After the same
 ' Manner, even Christ, the True high Priest of good Things
 Joh. 1. 14. ' to come, in Condescension to Leprous Souls, troubled with
 ' the Leprosy of Sin, enters into the *Tabernacle of their
 ' Body, takes Care of their Disorders and healeth them. And
 ' thus
 * See the Original.

* In the Original it is καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκή-
 νωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, and the Word was made Flesh and tabernacled
 in us.

Indeed, says John, baptize you with Water to Re- Mat 3.11.
pentance, but he that cometh after me is mightier than
I, whose Shoes I am not worthy to bear, he shall bap-
tize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire. This
 Declaration, pointing to Christ, *John* made before
 the Multitude which came to be baptiz'd of him ;
 and as a learned Annotator † on this Place has ob-
 serv'd, it was as much as to say, ‘ I am but the
 ‘ Messenger and Forerunner of Christ, sent be-
 ‘ fore him to baptize *Men* with the Baptism of
 ‘ Water, in Testimony of their *Repentance*, but
 ‘ there is one immediately coming after me, who
 ‘ is infinitely to be prefer'd before me, so much,
 ‘ that I am not worthy to carry his Shoes, or un-
 ‘ loose his Shoe-latchet. He shall baptize *Men*
 ‘ with another kind of Baptism, the Baptism of
 ‘ the Holy Ghost and Fire. *With the Holy Ghost*,
 ‘ inwardly washing away their Sins with his Blood,
 ‘ and sanctifying their Hearts, the Holy Ghost
 ‘ working in their Hearts like Fire, purging out
 ‘ their Lusts and Corruptions, *warming* and in-
 ‘ flaming

‘ thus will the Soul be able to enter into the *Heavenly Church*
 ‘ of the *Saints* of the *true Israel*. For every Soul that bears
 ‘ the *Leprosy* of Sin in her *Affections*, and will not come to the
 ‘ true *High Priest*, and be taken Care of now, finds no *Ad-*
 ‘ mission into the *Camp* of the *Saints*, into the *Heavenly Church*.
 ‘ For being herself *without Blemish*, and Pure, she seeks im-
 ‘ maculate and pure Souls. For *Blessed* faith Christ, *are the*
 ‘ *pure in Heart*, for they shall see *God*. For it becometh the
 ‘ Soul that truly *believeth* in Christ, to be *transfused* and
 ‘ *chang'd* from her present corrupt State, into another good
 ‘ State, and from its present abject Nature into another
 ‘ Nature which is divine, and to be *wrought new* herself thro'
 ‘ the *Power* of the *Holy Spirit*. And thus may it become
 ‘ *Fit* for the *Kingdom of Heaven*. But to obtain these
 ‘ Things, will be allow'd to us who believe and love Him
 ‘ in Truth, and walk in all his Holy Commandments.

† Pool's Annotations.

• flaming their Hearts with the Sense of his Love,
 • and kindling in them all spiritual Habits. And
 on *Mark* iii. 16, 17. he says, ‘ The *Baptist* in
 ‘ these Verses doth not only assure them, that
 ‘ he was not the Christ, but also lets them know,
 ‘ that Christ was coming amongst them, and
 ‘ that he was more excellent than he, and should
 ‘ baptize them with the Holy Ghost and *with*
 ‘ *Fire*; with Fire as the Symbol of the Holy
 ‘ Ghost, so some understand it, expounding it as
 ‘ a Prophecy of the Descent of the Holy Ghost,
 ‘ *Acts* ii. 3. Others possibly better expound it of
 ‘ the Holy Ghost, working in the Souls of Be-
 ‘ lievers as Fire, purging them, and burning up
 ‘ their Lusts and Corruptions.

As this learned Annotator on the Bible thought
 it better to expound the Baptism of the Holy
 Ghost and Fire, of the Spirit’s *working in the*
Souls of Believers as Fire, purging them, and burn-
ing up their Lusts and Corruptions, than to limit
 the Operation of it to the Time of Pentecost on-
 ly, (as some would have it) so we doubt not but
 to make it evidently appear, that *That* is a right
 and true Exposition.

WHEN Christ was about to take his last Fare-
 wel of his Disciples, he gave them Instructions
 what they should do when he was gone, and put
 them in Mind of the Promise he had made them
 a little before his Death, of sending the Holy
 Ghost. *Being assembled together with them,* ’tis
 said, *he commanded them that they should not depart*
from Jerusalem, but wait for the Promise of the Fa-
ther, which saith he, ye have heard of me. For
John truly baptized with Water, but ye shall be bap-
tized with the Holy Ghost not many Days hence.
 Here Christ, as *John* had done before, made
 a plain Distinction betwixt Water-Baptism and
 the

the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and assures the Disciples, that what *John* the Baptist had declar'd and foretold was now going to be fulfilled, and that they would find it verifi'd upon themselves very soon.

ACCORDING to *Luke's* Account, the Number of the Names of them that return'd from the Mount Olivet, to wait at *Jerusalem* for the Promise of the Father, as Christ had commanded them, were about an Hundred and Twenty; And these ALL continued in Prayer and Supplication with the WOMEN, and Mary the Mother of *Jesus*, and with his Brethren. And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they were ALL with one Accord in one Place, and they were ALL fill'd with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other Tongues as the Spirit gave them Utterance. Acts 1. 14, 15. ch. 2. 1.

AND when the Multitude which came together at the Report of this, were amazed and marvell'd at what they saw and heard, *Peter* standing up with the Eleven, declar'd saying, This is that which was spoken by the Prophet *Joel*, And it shall come to pass in the last Days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie. And when he had let them know, That he whom they had by wicked Hands crucifi'd and slain, was the Christ of whom *David* spake; This *Jesus*, says he, hath God raised up, whereof we all are WITNESSES. Now when they heard this, they were pricked in their Heart, and said unto *Peter* and to the rest of the Apostles, Men and Brethren what shalt we do? Then *Peter* said unto them, repent and be baptized every one of you, in the Name of *Jesus* Christ for the Remission of Sins, and ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost, for the Promise is unto you and to your Children ver. 6, 7. ver. 16. ver. 17. ver. 32. ver. 38.

Children, and to *all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.*

It appears by the Account *Luke* has given, that all the Hundred and Twenty were fill'd with the Holy Ghost, and 'tis plain by those Words of *Peter*, that the Promise of the Holy Ghost was made not only to the Eleven Apostles, and those who were met together at *Jerusalem* at the Time of Pentecost, *but even to as many as the Lord shall call*, in what Part or Age of the World soever they live.

AND the very Words of the Commission which Christ left with his Disciples when he parted with them, manifestly show that the Baptism of the Holy Ghost was by their Preaching to be confer'd on all Nations: And since he promis'd the Disciples to be with them *always, even to the End of the World*, we may justly conclude, that as the Power, so the Baptism of the Holy Ghost will ever accompany his Presence, and consequently is not to be limited and confin'd to the Apostles and the Time of Pentecost only.

WE shall in the next Place show, that the Command which Christ gave his Disciples *Mat. xxviii. 19.* was not, as many have taken it to be, a Command to baptize with Water. The Words of the Context are. *And Jesus came and spake unto them saying, All POWER is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth: Go ye therefore and teach ALL NATIONS, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all Things whatsoever I have commanded you, and lo I am with you ALWAYS, even to the End of the World.* By comparing the several Evangelists together, these Words will be found to be some of the last which Christ spake to his Disciples; And according to *Luke's* Relation, *he*
then

then open'd their Understanding that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behov'd Christ to suffer, and to rise from the Dead the third Day. And that Repentance, and Remission of Sins should be PREACHED in HIS NAME, among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem. Luke 24. 45.

HERE Luke says nothing of baptizing, only that Repentance and Remission of Sins should be preached in his Name among all Nations beginning at Jerusalem; but these Words manifestly relate to the Commission which Christ gave his Disciples, *Mat xxviii. 19.* And if we add what Luke has said in the Acts of the Apostles, which is a farther Account of Christ's last Words, we shall see that his Discourse at *That Time* was about something of much greater Moment and Concern than Water Baptism; that it was nothing less than the Dispensation of the Spirit which the Prophets had foretold: A Dispensation that was to supersede and take Place of the *Law, which stood only in Meats and Drinks and divers Washings, and carnal Ordinances, imposed on them until the Time of Reformation.* Heb. 9. 10. This Dispensation of the Spirit was the Subject of Christ's Discourse, as the following Words will show. *Being assembled with them, He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the Promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with WATER, but ye shall be baptized with the HOLY GHOST, not many Days hence.* Acts 1.

WAS not this telling his Disciples very plainly, that the Baptism with *Water*, which John administered, was *Then* to pass away, and give Place to the Administration of the Spirit? Was it not putting them in Mind of what John had declar'd should be the Office of him that was to come after

Joh. 1. 29. him, *Behold, said he, the Lamb of God, which taketh away the Sin of the World. I baptize you with*
 26. *Water, but there standeth one amongst you, whom*
 27. *you know not. He it is, who coming after me is pre-*
fer'd before me, whose Shoes Latchet I am not worthy
to unloose, the same is he which baptizeth with the
 33. *Holy Ghost. He must increase, I must decrease.*

Acts 1.
6—9.

AND when the Disciples ask'd of him saying,
Lord, wilt thou at this Time restore again the King-
dom to Israel? He said unto them, It is not for you to
know the Times or the Seasons, which the Father hath
put in his own Power. But ye shall receive Power
after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: And ye
shall be Witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and
in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost
Part of the Earth. And when he had spoken these
Things, while they beheld, he was taken up and a
Cloud receiv'd him out of their Sight. Now in Luke's
 whole Relation taken together (as it lies in the
 Acts of the Apostles and his Gospel) we find no
 Command given the Disciples to baptize, neither
 shall we find any if we look into *Mark's*: But
 only a *Commission to Preach the Gospel. And he*
said unto them, Go ye into all the World and preach
the Gospel to every Creature. He that believeth and
 is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not
 shall be damned.

Mark 16.
15—

THE Contenders for Water Baptism have ta-
 ken this to be a Command of Christ's to baptize
 with Water, but whoever will read the Context,
 must see that this was not spoken of Water Bap-
 tism, but the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, for the
 very next Words are, *And these Signs shall follow*
them that believe; in my Name shall they cast out
Devils, they shall speak with new Tongues. They
shall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly
Thing it shall not hurt them: They shall lay Hands on
 the

the Sick and they shall recover. Can any Thing be more plain, than that Christ speaks here only of the Baptism of the *Holy Ghost*, and of such Believers as the Apostles and Primitive Disciples, who receiv'd the Power of the Holy Ghost, as Christ had promis'd? Have we any Instance in Scripture, that Water Baptism empower'd any to speak Tongues and heal the Sick? But that the Baptism of the Holy Ghost did give that Power we have many Instances in Scripture. It appears therefore very evident by the Words of *Luke* and *Mark*, that Christ's last Commission to his Disciples, was not about *Water Baptism*, but the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, therefore we think the Word *Baptizing*, Mat. xxviii. 19. ought not to be understood of Water Baptism, but of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost.

AND we have still these Arguments farther to prove, that the Word *Baptizing* was not there us'd by Christ to denote Water Baptism. 1st. Because Christ us'd the Word Baptism not to denote Water Baptism, when he said to his Disciples, ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many Days hence, *Acts* i. 5. 2^{dly} Because it appears in other Places of Scripture, That Christ spake of Baptism, and being baptized, not to denote Water Baptism, but in a Figurative Sense, as in *Mat.* xx. 22. *Mark* x. 38. *Luke* xii. 50. And 3^{dly}. Because it evidently appears by two of the Evangelists, that Christ us'd the Word *Baptism* in his last Discourse, not in the literal Sense of *Water Baptism*, but in a Figurative Sense, to denote the Power and Operation of the Spirit, therefore by the Rules of fair Construction, the Word *Baptizing* ought to be taken in the like Sense in the other. And we can but admire, that any should take the Words, *Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and* Mat. 28, 19.

of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; to be a Precept and Command of Christ to baptize with Water, * when there is no Instance to be found in Scripture where any one was baptiz'd with Water in the Name of the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, which we cannot but think there would have been, if the Apostles and Disciples had understood those Words to have been a Precept or Command of Christ about Water Baptism.

BUT 'tis more likely, that the Apostles and Disciples of Christ took those Words, not in a literal but figurative Sense, to denote the Baptism and Power of the Spirit, which were indeed the very Subjects Christ discours'd with them about at that Time: And the Word † *Name* is

* 'Tis not only Matter of Admiration, that any should ground their Use of Water Baptism, upon a Place in Scripture where Water is not so much as mention'd; but that they should take Christ to have Instituted and Ordain'd such an External Rite after his Resurrection, and just when he was about to ascend into Heaven. Certainly if, he had then instituted *Water Baptism* as a perpetual standing Ordinance in his Church, an Ordinance too, without which, as some have weakly thought, neither Man nor Child can be sav'd or become Members of Christ's Church, some one of the Evangelists would have taken Notice of it, and been very explicit *How*, and *When*, and by *Whom* the Baptism should be administred; but not a Syllable of any such Thing is to be found in all the four Evangelists.

† In the Original it is, *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, that is, *into the Name*, now the *Name* of the Lord is often taken in Scripture for something else than a bare sound of Words, or literal Expression, even for his *Virtue* and *Power*; as may appear from *Psal. liv. 3. Cant. i. 3. Prov. xviii. 10.* and in many more. Now that the Apostles were, by their *Ministry*, to baptize the Nations *into this Name*, *Virtue* and *Power*, and that they did so, is evident by the Testimony of *Paul*, where he saith, That as many of them as were baptized into the Name, i. e. *Power* and *Virtue*; and not a meer formal Ex-
pression

is also frequently us'd in Scripture for *Power*, as in *Prov. xviii. 10. The NAME of the Lord is a strong Tower, the Righteous runneth into it and is safe.* And in Christ's Prayer for his Disciples; *Holy Father, keep through thy Name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are.* John xvii.

11. And when Christ enumerated the Signs, which he said should follow them that believe: In my *Name* says he, shall they cast out Devils, speak with *new Tongues*, &c.

THE Baptism and Power of the Spirit were also the Things Christ bid his Disciples wait for and expect before they went forth to preach the Gospel, therefore the Words of Christ *Mat. xxviii. 19.* may very well be understood to imply the Baptism of the Spirit, with which the Disciples should baptize the Nations, in the Name or *Power* of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

BUT it may be objected, how could the Disciples baptize with the Spirit? We answer, that it is very plain by divers Instances in Scripture, that the Apostles and Disciples of Christ, were instrumental in the Hand of God to baptize with the Spirit, or to confer the Holy Ghost. The first Instance we shall bring, is that of *Peter and John*: *Acts viii. 14. When the Apostles which were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had receiv'd the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John. Who*

N 3

when

pression of Words adjoined with Water Baptism. *Barclay's Apology, Prop. xii.*

Pool's Annot. on Mat. xxviii. 19. In the Name of the Father &c. In the Greek it is *eis τὸ ὄνομα*, *into the Name.* In the Name, doth not only import the naming of the Names of the *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*, upon them; but, *In the Authority.*

when they were come down, prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost. For as yet he was fallen upon none of them, only they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they their Hands on them, and they receiv'd the Holy Ghost.

THIS Passage shews not only that the Apostles *Peter* and *John* were instrumental to confer the Baptism of the Spirit or Holy Ghost on the *Samaritans*, but also that Water Baptism and the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, are two distinct and different Baptisms; with the first they had been baptiz'd by *Philip*, in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and amongst them was *Simon Magus*, who 'tis said was baptized and believ'd; and when he saw the Holy Ghost was given through laying on of the Apostles Hands, he offer'd them Money, saying, Give me also this POWER, that on whomsoever I lay Hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy Money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the Gift of God may be purchased with Money. Thou hast neither Part nor Lot in this Matter, for thy Heart is not right in the Sight of God. Repent therefore of this thy Wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the Thought of thine Heart may be forgiven thee, For I perceive that thou art in the Gall of Bitterness, and in the Bond of Iniquity.

NEED any plainer Instance than this be brought to confute the Opinion of such as hold that Water Baptism and the Baptism of the Spirit, make up the one Baptism of Christ? The *Samaritans* 'tis plain were baptiz'd in the Name of the Lord Jesus, yet had not received the Holy Ghost: This shows also, that the Notion which the *Romanists* and others have got, That the Holy Spirit is always confer'd in a secret Manner on the baptiz'd Person, tho' an Infant, is groundless. Does not this Instance also show the Insignificancy

nificancy of Water Baptism, and, that it does not wash away Sin, nor purge the Heart from Iniquity? For 'tis said when the *Samaritans* believed *Philip* preaching the Things concerning the Kingdom of God, and the Name of *Jesus Christ*, they were baptiz'd both Men and Women. Then *Simon* himself believed also, and when he was baptized, he continued with *Philip*, and wondred, beholding the Miracles and Signs which were done.

HERE we may plainly see, that the Baptism which *Philip* confer'd on *Simon Magus* and the *Samaritans*, was not the Baptism which *Christ* spake of, when he said to his Disciples, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved*: For *Simon* believ'd and was baptized, yet was not saved: Mark 16. 16.
Nay, so far was he from being saved, tho' baptized by an Apostle, that *Peter* told him, he was in the Gall of Bitterness and in the Bond of Iniquity.

THE next Instance we shall bring to show that the Apostles were Instruments in the Hand of God, to confer the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, is that of *Paul*, Acts xix. 1. *And it came to pass, that while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul having passed through the upper Coasts, came to Ephesus: and finding certain Disciples, He said unto them. Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, unto what then were ye baptized? And they said unto John's Baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the Baptism of Repentance, saying unto the People, That they should believe on him which should come after him, that is on Christ Jesus. When they heard this: they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his Hands upon them, the HOLY*

GHOST came on them; and they SPAKE WITH TONGUES, and Prophefied.

'Tis observable here, that the Disciples at *Ephesus*, who had not so much as heard whether there was any Holy Ghost, and consequently could not have been of the Number of those present, to whom Christ promis'd the Holy Ghost, yet these receiv'd it by the Hands of *Paul*, and spake with Tongues and prophefied as the Apostles and Disciples did at the Time of Pentecost. This is another Instance that plainly shows that it was not Water Baptism, but the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, which Christ spake of, when he gave his Disciples the Commission to go into all the World and *preach the Gospel*, and told them what Signs should follow them that Believed. For here weresome of the very Signs Christ promis'd should accompany the Believers, and as a learned

* M. Pool. Man * has noted on this Passage, these *Ephesians* also were '*fitted to preach the Gospel unto any Nation or People unto whom they should be sent*'. This is a Demonstration likewise, that the great Subject of Christ's Discourse, when he was taking his last Farewel of his Disciples, was concerning the Dispensation of the Spirit, and the Power of the Holy Ghost that would be given to the Apostles, and such after them as should be sent to Preach the Gospel in the World, and be Witneses for him.

THE Instances we have brought, prove that the Holy Ghost was confer'd on Believers by the Prayers and laying on of the Hands of the Apostles; we shall now show that by their *Preaching* also, they confer'd the Holy Ghost, and executed that Command of Christ, *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in [or into] the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost*. My Speech and my Preaching, says the Apostle *Paul* to the *Corinthians*,

1 Cor. 2. 4.

ans, was not with inticing Words of Man's Wisdom, ¹Cor.2.4. but in * Demonstration of the SPIRIT, and of POWER. And to the Thessalonians, Our Gospel ¹Thess.1. came not unto you in Word only, but also in POWER† ⁵. and in the Holy Ghost.

AND, when Peter gave a Relation how Cornelius and his Kinsfolk were converted by his Preaching, As I be an to speak, says he, the Holy Ghost ^{Acts 11.15} fell on them, as on us at the Beginning. Then remembered I the Word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with Water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost. This shows very clearly, that by the Preaching of Peter, the Holy Ghost was administred to, or confer'd on Cornelius and the Rest, and also that Peter then took those Words of Christ to be relative not to themselves only, but to the Gentiles also, a Thing he did not so clearly understand till he had the Vision.

BUT we know it has been, and is objected to us, If the Baptism of the Holy Ghost be the only necessary

* But in Demonstration of the Spirit. By which Gronius, and some others, understand Miracles, by which the Doctrine of the Gospel was at first confirmed; but Vorstius and many others better understand by it the Holy Ghost's Powerful and Inward Perswasion of Men's Minds, of the Truth of what was preached by Paul. See Pool's Annot.

† For our Gospel came not to you in Word only, but also in the Power of Miracles and in or with the Distributions of the Holy Ghost. Whitby's Paraphrase.

Pool's Annot. In Power, that is, confirmed by Miracles, and had powerful Operation upon your Hearts. The Power of God went along with our Ministry, which did not with the false Teachers, ¹Cor. iv. 19. And the Kingdom of God is not Word, but Power, ver. 20. In the Holy Ghost, that is, either in Gifts of the Holy Ghost which ye received, or, that Power, which ye felt from the Gospel upon your Hearts, was from the Holy Ghost.

cessary Baptism to Salvation, as you say, how then came *Peter* to command that *Cornelius* and those with him, who had receiv'd the Holy Ghost, should be baptiz'd with Water? Does not that prove the Necessity of Water Baptism, even to those who have been baptiz'd with the Holy Ghost?

To this Objection we answer. Tho' *Peter* commanded those *Gentiles* who had receiv'd the Holy Ghost, to be baptized with Water, yet that is no Proof that Christ had commanded Water Baptism, or that *Peter* understood Christ's Commission, *Mai. xxviii. 19.* to be concerning Water Baptism, the contrary of which we shall prove by and by. Nor does it prove that Water Baptism is necessary to those who have been baptized with the Spirit, because *Peter* commanded it, any more than it proves Circumcision necessary; for 'tis plain by Scripture, that *Peter* and others were for having the *Gentiles* circumcised, and to observe the Law of *Moses*.

'Tis said *Acts xv. 1.* *Certain Men which came down from Judea, taught the Brethren, and said, Except ye be circumcised after the Manner of Moses ye cannot be sav'd.*

And so great was the Influence of those who were for having the *Gentiles* circumcised, that *Paul* himself, who taught the *Gentiles* that Circumcision avail'd nothing, took *Timothy* and circumcised him because of the Jews which were in those Quarters, for they all knew that his Father was a Greek. If therefore the Opinions, or rather Prejudices of the Brethren, were so strong at that Time in Favour of Circumcision, need we at all wonder, that *Peter* should command those *Gentiles* to be baptized, even without a Command of Christ, who had received the Holy Ghost? Since, as several Authors tell

tell us * it was a Custom amongst the *Jews* at that Time, to baptize *Profelytes*, and that it had been much practis'd by the Disciples, even while *John the Baptist* was living, is plain from *John* iv. 1. &c.

AND

* The Custom of the *Jews* before our Saviour's Time (and, as they themselves affirm, from the Beginning of their Law) was to baptize as well as circumcise any *Profelyte* that came over to them from the Nations. They reckon'd all Mankind beside themselves to be in an unclean State, and not capable of being enter'd into the Covenant of *Israelites*, without a Washing or Baptism, to denote their Purification from their Uncleanness. And this was called the Baptizing of 'em unto *Moses*. This Custom of theirs is fully and largely set forth by *Maimonides*. *Isuri. Bia. c.* 13, and 14. He had been saying there, that the *Israelites* themselves were enter'd into Covenant by *Circumcision*, *Baptism* and *Sacrifice*. And then adds,

'And so in all Ages, when an *Ethnic* (*Gentile*) is willing to enter into the Covenant, and gather himself under the Wings of the Majesty of God, and take upon him the Yoke of the Law; he must be circumcis'd and baptiz'd, and bring a Sacrifice; or if it be a Woman, be baptiz'd, and bring a Sacrifice. As it is written, *As you are so shall the Stranger be*. How are you? By *Circumcision* and Baptism, and bringing of a Sacrifice. So likewise the Stranger (or *Profelyte*) thro' all Generations, by *Circumcision* and Baptism and bringing of a Sacrifice.

Numb. 15. 15

'A Stranger that is circumcised, and not baptiz'd; or baptiz'd and not circumcis'd, he is not a *Profelyte*, till he be both circumcis'd and baptiz'd.

'The *Talmud* says the same Thing of receiving *Profelytes* by Baptism, *Talmud. Babylon. Mafs. Jevamoth. Fol. 47.* When a *Profelyte* is receiv'd, he must be circumcised: And when he is 'cured (of the Wound of Circumcision) they baptize him in the Presence of two wise Men, saying, Behold he is an *Israelite in all Things*. Or if it be a Woman, the Women lead her to the Waters, &c.

'And the same continues to this Day to be the Practice of the present *Jews*. For so *Leo Modena* in his History of them, Part 5. ch. 2. speaking of a *Profelyte's* Admission; They take and circumcise him; and 'as soon as he is well of his Sore, he is to wash himself all over in Water; and this is to be done in the Presence of three Rabbins, &c. And so from thenceforth he becomes as a natural Jew.

'The

AND that the Ground and Occasion of *Peter's* commanding those *Gentiles* to be baptized, was, because he thought them fit *Profelytes* to receive Baptism, is evident by the Question he put to those of the Circumcision, who went with him to the House of *Cornelius*, and were Witnesses of the extraordinary Favours God was pleas'd to confer on *Cornelius* and his Friends, tho' *Gentiles* They, 'tis said, of the Circumcision which believed, were astonished, as many as came with Peter, because that on the *Gentiles* also was poured out the Gift of the Holy Ghost. For they heard them speak with Tongues and magnifie God. Then answered Peter, Can any Man forbid Water that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? Now this Question of *Peter's*, which some think a very strong Argument for the Necessity of Water Baptism, will prove none at all, if rightly taken. For 'tis plain that Question was put to those of the Circumcision who were present, and saw what God had done for these *Gentiles*, it was appealing to them, whether they, or any Man could forbid Water, that these should not be baptized which had receiv'd the Holy Ghost, tho' they were

Acts 10.
45.

' The Books do speak of this Washing or Baptism, as absolutely necessary; and an Ordinance without which none was to be counted a *Profelyte*. *History of Infant-Baptism*.

Now, if as these Authors say, it was the ancient Custom of the Jews before *Christ's* Time, to baptize as well as to circumcise *Profelytes*, we need seek no farther for the Grounds and Reason of *Peter's* commanding *Cornelius* and the other *Gentiles* to be baptized: This likewise accounts, without any Precept or Ordinance of *Christ*, for all the Water Baptism we read of in the Acts of the Apostles; And indeed, the Eunuch's saying to Philip, See here is Water, what doth hinder me to be baptiz'd? plainly shows that Baptism was a known Practice amongst the Jews, or else the Eunuch we think had not put that Question first to Philip.

Acts 8.36.

were Gentiles. And this is farther shown by what Peter said to the Apostles and Brethren at Jerusalem; for they that were of the Circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to Men uncircumcised and didst eat with them. But Peter rehearsed the Matter from the Beginning, saying, as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the Beginning: Forasmuch then as God gave them the like Gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I that I could withstand God? Acts xi.

HERE we see plainly the Reason why Peter commanded Cornelius and the other Gentiles to be baptized, and the Occasion of his putting this Question to those of the Circumcision, Can any Man forbid Water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? That Question therefore only shows that Peter counted these Gentiles worthy of Baptism, but is no Argument for the Necessity of Water Baptism, any more than 'tis an Argument for the Necessity of Circumcision, which, as has been shown, was the Persuasion of the Brethren, the Jews, at that Time.

BUT tho' it is very plain and evident, that Peter commanded them to be baptized, because he thought them fit Profelytes, or worthy of Baptism, yet it does not appear by Scripture, that he commanded them to be baptized in Pursuance of Christ's Words, Mat. xxviii. 19. For 'tis said, he commanded them to be baptized in the Name of the Lord, only, whereas the Words of Christ are Go teach all Nations, baptizing them in [or into] the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. It is plain therefore, that Peter did not take those Words to be a literal Command for Water Baptism, as the Contenders for it now do, and

and therefore baptize or sprinkle in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost:

AND 'tis very plain by other Instances in Scripture, that the Disciples did not take those Words of Christ to be a Command or Form of Words to be us'd when they baptized with Water; for there is not one Instance to be given of their baptizing any with Water, in the *Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost*; and can it be thought they would have baptized any, without using that Form of Words, if they had taken them to have been spoken of Water Baptism?

BUT in Answer to this some have said, that to baptize in the Name of the Lord, or Lord Jesus, as the Apostles and Disciples did, was all one and the same, as to baptize in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost: But then if it was all one and the same, and if that was the Reason why the Apostles and Disciples of Christ did not use the Form of Words in *Mat. xxviii. 19.* we ask, why they do not baptize with the same Form of Words as the Apostles did? Are they grown Wiser, or do they pretend to understand Christ's Words better than the Apostles did?

BUT to show beyond all reasonable Contradiction, that the Apostles did not take Christ's Words *Mat. xxviii. 19.* to be a Commission to baptize with Water, we have the plain Words and Declaration of *Paul*, that great Apostle to the Gentiles, who, we believe, none of the Contenders for Water Baptism will say, was excluded in the general Commission, *Mat. xxviii. 19.* Yet he says to the *Corinthians*, *I thank God, I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I had baptized in my own Name, and I baptized also the Household of Stephanas, besides I know not whether I baptized any other: For Christ sent me*

not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. That *Stephanas* the Jailor, and his Household were baptized by *Paul*, we read *Acts* xvi. 33. and we believe the Pleaders for Water Baptism will readily grant that it was with Water, yet he positively declares, That *Christ sent him not to baptize, but to Preach the Gospel*. What therefore can be more evident and plain, than that the Apostle took the Commission *Mat.* xxviii. 19. not to be a Command to baptize with Water, but to *Preach the Gospel*?

AND, if with the Words of the Apostle, we join and compare the Words of Christ, *Mark* xvi. 15. it will appear undeniably plain even to Demonstration, that Christ sent not his Disciples to baptize with Water, but to preach the Gospel, *Go ye, says he to them, into all the World, and preach the Gospel to every Creature*.

THE Words of this great Apostle, which declare that Christ sent him not to baptize, ought, we think, to be a Rule and Direction to all who are of the Stock of the Gentiles and not Jews; and so strong a Proof are they, that Water Baptism was no Part of Christ's Commission to his Disciples, *Mat* xxviii. 19. that the zealous Contenders for that Rite or Ceremony, seeing how much the express Declaration of the Apostle weaken'd the Foundation upon which they ground the Use and Practice of Water Baptism, have endeavoured by adding a Word to the Text, to make the Apostle say that he was not *principally* sent to baptize; but such a Gloss can by no Means be admitted; for in the same Manner, the plainest and most positive Precept in the Scripture, by adding a single Word only, might be enervated, and the Force of it quite taken away.

BUT

BUT the strenuous Pleaders for Water Baptism, when they have been told that there is not a Word about Water in *Mat. xxviii. 19.* which they bring for the Support of their Practice, fly to the Words of Christ in *John iii. 5.* *Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.* * Here say they, is express

* *M. Pool's Annot. on John iii. 5.* ' By *Water*, then we are to understand the Grace of the Holy Spirit in, purifying the Soul, which is fitly represented by the Efficacy of Water. And this purifying, refreshing Virtue of the Spirit, is promis'd in the Prophecies that concern the Times of the *Messiah*, under the Mystical Expression of Water. Thus 'tis twofold by *Isaiah*, *I will pour Water upon him that is thirsty, and Floods upon the dry Ground.* *Isa. xlv. 3.* And this is immediately explain'd, *I will pour my Spirit upon thy Seed*; and the divine Birth follows, *they shall spring up as among the Grass.* In the same Manner, the Effects of the Holy Spirit are express'd by *Ezekiel*, *I will pour clean Water upon you, and you shall be clean,* *Ezek. xxxvi. 25, 27.* and presently after, *I will put my spirit within you.* Our Saviour instructing a *Pharisee*, to whom the prophetical Writings were known, expressly uses these two Words, and in the same Order as they are set down there; first *Water*, and then the *Spirit*, that the latter might interpret the former; for Water and the Spirit, by a usual Figure when two Words are employ'd to signify the same Thing, signify spiritual Water, that is, his divine Grace in renewing the Soul; as when the Apostle says, *in Demonstration of the Spirit and of the Power*, to signify the powerful Spirit. Thus *John* the Baptist, foretold of Christ, *that he should baptize with the Holy Ghost and Fire*, that is, with the Spirit that has the Force and Efficacy of Fire to refine us from our Dross and Corruptions. Thus our Saviour plainly instructs *Nicodemus*, of the absolute Necessity of an inward spiritual Change and Renovation, and thereby shewing the Inefficacy of all the legal Washings and Sprinklings, that could not purify and make white one Soul, which were of high Valuation among the Jews. *Entering into the Kingdom of God*, is of the same Importance and Sense, with the seeing the Kingdom of God, in the third Verse

Pateris libamus & Auro, viz. aureis pateris. Virg.

express Mention made of Water and of the Spirit, therefore Water Baptism and the Spirit make up the one Baptism of Christ. But to this we reply ; There is no more Reason in our Judgment, to take *Water* in this Place for Elementary or Material Water, than to take *Fire*, where 'tis said, *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire,* for Elementary or Material Fire. For tho' the Word *Fire* be join'd with the Holy Ghost in *John-Baptist's* Words, yet when Christ spoke of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, and repeated *John's* Words *Acts* i. 5. he us'd not the Word *Fire*, from whence we infer, that as *Fire* is no Part of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, no more is *Water* a Part of Christ's Baptism. And they who disallow of material *Fire's* being a Part of Christ's Baptism, ought, we think for the same Reason to disallow of material *Water*, since one is as much join'd with the Holy Ghost, as the other is with the Spirit. But as we take *Fire* to be only a Term us'd by *John-Baptist*, to set forth or explain the Nature and Operation of the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, so we take the Term *Water*, to have been us'd by Christ to set forth and explain to *Nicodemus* the Nature of the Heavenly Birth, or what it was to be born again. For Christ us'd not the Term *Water* at first ; he only said, *Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God,* but when *Nicodemus* took those Words in a literal Sense, as if Christ had spoke of a natural Birth, then Christ repeated his Words again, with an additional Explication. *Verily, Verily, I say*

O

Mat. 3. 11.

John 3. 3.

‘ Verse. That is, without Regeneration no Man can truly
 ‘ be joined with the Society of the *Church of God*, nor partake
 ‘ of the Cœlestial Privileges and Benefits belonging to
 ‘ it, here and hereafter.

Jay unto thee, Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, ye must be born again, The Wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the Sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whether it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit.

BESIDES, divers Learned Men, *who were reckon'd to have good Skill in the Stile of the Original Languages

* Grotius says, the Words, *Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit*, are spoken of the Spirit only: There are two Things put for one, as in *Mat. iii. 11. Holy Ghost and Fire*, is as much as to say, the *Fiery Holy Ghost*, so here *Water and Spirit*, is as much as to say, the *Watery Spirit*.

Robert Stephens, a Learned Man, a very famous Printer *Mat. 3. 11.* at *Paris*, notes, in one of his Bibles, on these Words, *He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and Fire*. Baptize you with Fire, that is, he shall purifie you, he shall procure you Remission of Sins, and the Love of God, and the Love of one another. For Fire is a Symbol of Purification and Love: Or as others expound it, He shall procure you the Holy Spirit, which in Regenerating has the Effect and Nature of Fire; it shall regenerate, renew and cleanse your Hearts, and shall make you Partakers of the Adoption of the Sons of God. And upon these Words, *Except a Man be born of Water and the Spirit*, that is, the Spirit which has the Effect of Water. To be baptized with the Holy Ghost, is to be endued with Power from on high. To receive the Holy Spirit or the Power of the Spirit in one's self is all one. *Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 8. and ii. 15, 16.*

John 3. 5.

Calvin says, The Word *Fire* is joined with Spirit, because the Filth of Sin is purg'd away just as the Fire refines Gold, and in the same Manner *Water* is us'd metaphorically *John iii. 5.*

Grotius in *Johann. cap. iii. ver. 5. γεννηθῆναι ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος*, natus fuerit ex Aquâ & spiritu. Exponit jam qualem Nativitatem intelligat, ne Nicodemus diutius allegorica locutionis ignorantia fallatur. Est autem ἐν διὰ τοῦτο (unum

Languages of the Scriptures, have said, that *Water* and *Spirit* are us'd in this Place to denote or signifie one and the same Thing, that is, *Spirit*, and its Effects of cleansing or Washing; and that *Holy Ghost* and *Fire* in *Mat. iii. 11.* signify no more than *Holy Ghost*, and its Effects of purifying and purging the Soul.

BUT if Learned Men had not told us that *That* was the true and genuine Meaning of those Phrases or Expressions, yet by only comparing other Places of Scripture, where Christ us'd the Word *Water*, we might plainly see, he us'd it not in a literal but a figurative Sense: As when he said, *He that believeth on me as the Scripture hath said, out of his Belly shall flow Rivers of living Water; But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him, should receive: For the Holy Ghost was not yet given because that Jesus was not yet glorified.*

O 2

HERE

(unum per duo) Nam sicut in *Spiritu & igne Mat. iii. 11.* significat per *Spiritum igneum*, ita hinc ex *Spiritu & Aquâ*, est ex *Spiritu Aqueo*.

Ex Glossâ *Roberti Stephani* 1553. Baptizabit item vos igni, hoc est, purgabit vos, conferet vobis remissionem peccatorum & amorem Dei, & inter vos mutuum. *Ignis* Symbolum est Purgationis & Amoris. Vel ut alii, baptizabit Spiritu Sancto & Igni, id est, conferet Spiritum Sanctum, qui in Regeneratione, *Ignis* Officium naturamve habet: corda vestra regenerabit, innovabit & mundabit, in adoptionemque Filiorum Dei consecrabit. *Johann. iii. 5. Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex Aquâ & Spiritu Sancto. i. e. Spiritu* qui Officium mundandi habet. Baptizari Spiritu Sancto, indui virtute ex alto, accipere Spiritum Sanctum, aut Virtutem supervenientis Spiritus in se, idem significant. *Luke xxiv. 49. Acts i. 8. and ii. 15, 16.*

Calvini, Transfertur autem *Ignis* nomen ad Spiritum: quia Sordes non aliter purgat quam Aurum igni excoquitur, sicut metaphoricè vocatur Aqua, *Johann. iii. 5.*

HERE the Evangelist tells us, that Christ by the Word *Water*, spake of the Spirit which they that believe on him should receive, and in that Sense it is plain he us'd the Word *Baptism* when he said to his Disciples *Mark xvi. 16. He that Believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved*; that is, he that believeth and is baptized with the *Spirit*, shall be saved, for at that very Time Christ told his Disciples that they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost. And in the Discourse which Christ had with the Woman of Samaria at *Jacob's Well*, he us'd the Word *Water* several Times in a figurative Sense, to denote or signify the Effects of the Holy Spirit; As when he said to her, *Joh. 4. 10. If thou knewest the Gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, give me to drink, thou would'st have asked of him, and he would have given thee living Water.** And again, *whosoever drinketh of the Water that I shall give him, shall never thirst, but the Water that I shall give him, shall be in him a Well of Water springing up into everlasting Life.*

WE believe none that contend for Water Baptism will say, that Christ spake in this Place of Elementary or Material Water, but of the Spirit; why then do they take the Words of Christ when he said, *Except a Man be born of Water*, to be of Elementary or Material Water, since it is plain by the Context that Christ was speaking to *Nicodemus* of a spiritual Birth, and Material Water can produce no spiritual Birth? For says Christ, *That which is born of the Flesh is Flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit. Marvel not that*

* Pool's Annot. *Thou wouldst have asked of him, and he would have given thee either a true Knowledge of the Doctrine, or the Grace tendered in the Gospel, or the Holy Spirit, call'd Water, because it washeth and cleanseth the Soul; and Living Water, because it is always running and flowing.*

that I said to thee, ye must be born again: The Wind bloweth where it listeth. and thou hearest the Sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whether it goeth, So is every one that is born of the Spirit. This plainly shows, that Christ spake then only of the Spirit's Operation, which he compared to the Blowing of the Wind, and of the New Birth wrought in the Soul (*ἀνάθευ*) from above by the Power of God: For the same Evangelist speaking of Christ says, *As many as Receiv'd him, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God, even to them that believe on his Name, which were born, not of Blood, nor of the Will of the Flesh, nor of the Will of Man, but of God.*

John i. 12

THESE Words, *As many as Receiv'd him, to them he gave Power to become the Sons of God, even to them that believe on his Name,* are also a plain and clear Exposition of Christ's Words, when he said, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved,* for as we have observ'd before, the Context shows that Christ spake then of such Believers as should receive Power to cast out Devils, and speak with Tongues, and heal the Sick, &c. and consequently become the Sons of God. Now these Things could not be done without the Power of the Holy Spirit, therefore the Baptism Christ then spake of, must have been the Baptism of the Spirit, and not Water Baptism.* And as nothing but the

Mark 16.
16.

O 3

Holy

* If we take the Words of Christ John i. 5. Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, to be spoken of the New Birth wrought in Man by the Spirit only. And if we take the Words Mark xvi. 16. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, to be spoken only of the Baptism of the Spirit, and of that Living Faith or Belief which is said to be the Gift of God, Ephes. ii. 8. For by Grace are ye saved through Faith, and that not of

Holy Spirit or Power of God can purifie, wash and regenerate the Soul, we conclude that Christ spake to *Nicodemus* of the Spirit and its Effects only, and not of *Water Baptism*.

AND, that a Man may be born again without Water Baptism is very evident from these Words of *Peter*, *Seeing you have purified your Souls in obeying the Truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned Love of the Brethren, see that ye love one another with a pure Heart, being born again, not of corruptible Seed, but of Incorruptible by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for Ever.* And the Apostle *John* says, *Beloved, let us love one another, for Love is of God, and every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God.* Now the being born of God, is, *That ye put off concerning the former Conversation, the Old Man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful Lusts; and be Renewed in the Spirit of your Mind: And that ye put on the New Man, which after God is created in Righteousness and true Holiness.*

THIS is evidently the Work of the SPIRIT only, Water Baptism can do nothing towards it. 'Tis the washing of Regeneration and the Renewing of the Holy Ghost which alone does it, as the same Apostle has very clearly and fully set forth and

of your selves, it is the Gift of God. Then we find an Agreement and Harmony in the Words of the Evangelists. But if we take Water *John* i. 5. for Water Baptism, and if by being baptized *Mark* xvi. 16. we take it for dipping into or sprinkling with Water, how absurd do we render the Sayings of Christ! For will the most zealous Contenders for Water Baptism say, that a Man cannot enter into the Kingdom of God, except he be baptized with Water, or that he that is baptized with Water is saved. From such weak Sentiments as these, 'tis not improbable but that the Practice of Infant-Baptism might take its Rise, for no such Practice is mention'd in the Holy Scriptures.

and declar'd in the following Words, *For we our selves also were sometimes Foolish, Disobedient, Deceived, serving divers Lusts and Pleasures, living in Malice and Envy; Hatelul, and hating one another; But after the Kindness and Love of God our Saviour towards Man appeared (not by Works of Righteousness which we have done, but according to his Mercy) He saved us by the Washing of Regeneration, and the Renewing of the Holy Ghost.* Titus 3.3.

HAVING manifestly shown that the Words *Baptism* and *Water*, were us'd by Christ in a metaphorical or figurative Sense, to denote and signify the cleansing and purifying Nature and Power of the *Holy Spirit*; and that the Word *Baptism* ought to be taken in that Sense, both in *Mat. xxviii. 19.* and *Mark xvi. 16.* and also the Word *Water* in *John iii. 5.* we shall now show, that the Apostle *Paul* us'd the Word *Baptism* in the like metaphorical or figurative Sense as Christ us'd it. By one *Spirit*, says he, *we are all baptiz'd into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit.* In another Place, *For ye are all the Children of God by Faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.* And to the *Ephesians* he says, *There is one Body, and one Spirit, even as ye are called in One Hope of your Calling. One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism.* 1 Cor. 12. 13. Gal. 3. 26 27. Ephes. 4. 4

'Tis very plain, that by being baptized, and by the *One Baptism*, the Apostle speaks of the *Holy Spirit* and its Operation and Effects, and not of *Water Baptism*, for by the *Spirit* only, both *Jews* and *Gentiles* are made *One Body*, of which *Christ* is the Head. * *We are made,* saith the

O 4

Apostle,

* See Dr. Whitby's Comment and Appendix to the sixth Chap. of the second Epist. to the Corinth. When God is said

‘ Apostle, *an Habitation of God*, through the Spirit, And the *Temples of God* through the Holy Ghost

‘ said to *put his Fear*, and his Law in our Hearts, *Jer. xxxii. 40. Heb. viii. 10. and his Spirit within us, Ezek. xxxvi. 27. to create in us a clean Heart, and renew in us a right Spirit*, *ibid. to give us a new Heart*, *Ezek. xi. 9. to circumcise*, and to *convert the Heart*, *Deut. xxx. 6. Jer. xxxi. 33. If he by his good Spirit raiseth no good Motions, or Ideas in us, which may dispose us to his Fear, and by Attention to them may convert and cleanse our Hearts*, if he vouchsafes unto us no *inward Illuminations*, by attending to which, we may discern the *wondrous Things of his Law*, what can these Words or Metaphors import? Or why is his Spirit put within us, if he hath nothing to do there? Yea, why are we said to be *strengthened with Might* through the Spirit *in the inward Man to do his Will?* *Eph. iii. 16. to be enabled through the Spirit to mortify the Deeds of the Flesh*, *Rom. viii. 13. Why is this Spirit said to help our Infirmities*, *ver. 26. to purify our Hearts*, *1 Pet. i. 22. to be unto us a Spirit of Sanctification*, *1 Cor. vi. 11. the Comforter, the Spirit of Power, Love, and of a sound Mind. 2 Tim. i. 7.*

‘ Moreover, if the Holy Spirit hath no Hand in producing, and carrying on the *New Life*, why is he stiled Πνεῦμα ζωοποιόν, a quickning or Life-giving Spirit, seeing all vital Operations issue from a Spirit acting in us, why are we said to *live in the Spirit*, *Gal. v. 15. and to walk in the Spirit*, *Rom. viii. 14. and ἀγεσθαι to be led, or conducted by the Spirit of God.* For as in natural and moral Actions, we cannot be said to live, or walk, without an inward Principle of Life and Motion, or to be led or guided in those Actions, but by the Light of Reason, so neither can we properly be said to *live, and walk in the Spirit*, or to be guided by him, if he imparts no *inward Light* to guide us in the Ways of Piety, no *inward Motions* to excite us to walk in them, no inward Strength or vital Efficacy for the Performance of them. And were it otherwise, why are all those inward Habits and Dispositions which adorn the Soul, and make it *meet for the Inheritance of Saints in Light*, stiled the *Fruits*, not of the Preaching of the Word, or of our own Consideration, but of the Holy Spirit.

‘ Ghost *which is in us*, and united to Christ by the² Cor. 6.
 ‘ Spirit. By this God becomes *our God*, and we¹⁶.
 ‘ *his People*, *our Father*, *we his Sons and Daugh-*
 ‘ *ters*. And from our Union by this Spirit to
 ‘ our Head Christ Jesus, such an. (ἐνσπύεα) inward^{Ephes. 4.}
 ‘ Working is said to be diffused through every Part¹⁶.
 ‘ of his mystical Body, as causeth the *whole Body*^{Coloss. 2.}
 ‘ *to encrease and edifie it self in Love*. And the same¹⁹.
 ‘ Apostle declares, that if *any Man have not the*
 ‘ *Spirit of Christ* dwelling in him, *he is none of his*.
 ‘ He cannot be the Son of God, For, *as many*^{Rom. 8.9.}
 ‘ *as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of*^{14, 15, 17,}
 ‘ *God*. He hath no Right to call God Father,
 ‘ no Interest in the *Adoption*, and the *Inheritance*
 ‘ of Sons.

NOTHING is more clear and plain by the Doc-
 trine of this Apostle, than that by the Spirit only
 we are made *Members of Christ*, *Children of God*,
 and *Inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven*; we there-
 fore conclude, since our blessed Lord and Saviour
 Jesus Christ himself, as well as *John the Baptist*,
 did most clearly distinguish betwixt the Baptism
 with Water and the Baptism with the Holy Ghost:
 And since it plainly appears by the whole Tenor
 of Christ's and the Apostles Doctrine, that no-
 thing but the Spirit can purifie the Heart, rege-
 nerate the Soul, and give Power to become the
 Sons of God; and as there is but one Lord, one
 true

‘ To say, *these Things*, and *these Expressions* concern only
 ‘ the Times in which the *Extraordinary* Gifts and Operations
 ‘ of the Holy Spirit were vouchsafed, is to make future
 ‘ Ages, since the ceasing of these Gifts, despair of being
 ‘ *quickned, sanctified or comforted*, or even enabled to *purifie*
 ‘ *the Heart*, or to mortifie the Deeds of the Flesh, to live or
 ‘ walk in the *Spirit*, and consequently to despair of being
 ‘ *now* the Sons of God, united to Christ Jesus, or having
 ‘ any of the Fruits of the Spirit wrought within them.

true Faith and one Baptism of Christ, it necessarily follows, that that Baptism must be the Baptism of the Spirit, and not Water Baptism.

AND since, the Apostle *Paul* in very plain and positive Terms has declar'd, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, we think it most reasonable to conclude, that neither did Christ send the rest of the Apostles to baptize with Water, but to preach the Gospel.

AND lastly, since it is most evident and plain by Scripture, that when the Apostles baptized any with Water, they us'd not the Form of Words in *Mat. xxviii. 19.* where 'tis said, *Go ye therefore, teach all Nations, baptizing them in (or into) the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,* hence we infer, that the Apostles took not that as a Command or Commission from Christ for them to baptize with Water, but 'tis most reasonable to conclude, that as *Paul* baptized some with Water without being sent of Christ, so might the other Apostles and Disciples without any Commission from Christ.

THIS is the Opinion or Principle of the People call'd *Quakers*, respecting BAPTISM: And 'tis their sincere Belief, that in not using the outward and ceremonious Rite of Water Baptism (which better became the Legal, than this Spiritual Dispensation) and insisting on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, as the only necessary Baptism to Salvation; they have acted agreeable to the Doctrine and Mind of Christ, and the great Apostle to the GENTILES. But, if after the Reasons here given, any shall continue to censure and think hard of them, because they do not baptize or sprinkle their Children with Water, we shall desire such to peruse and read seriously the following

ing Arguments of Bishop TAYLOR against Infant-Baptism.*

‘ WHY cannot God as well do his Mercies to
 ‘ Infants now immediately, as he did before the
 ‘ Institution either of Circumcision or Baptism?
 ‘ However there is no Danger that Infants should
 ‘ perish for Want of this external Ministry, much
 ‘ less for prevaricating Christ’s Precept of *Nisi* John. 3. 5.
 ‘ *quis renatus fuerit*, &c. For first, the Water
 ‘ and the Spirit in this Place signify the *same Thing*,
 ‘ and by *Water* is meant the *Effect* of the *Spirit*,
 ‘ cleansing and purifying the Soul, as appears in
 ‘ its parallel Place of Christ baptizing with the
 ‘ *Spirit* and with *Fire*. For although this was li- Mat. 3. 11.
 ‘ terally fulfill’d in *Pentecost*, yet morally there
 ‘ is more in it; for it is the Sign of the *Effect* of
 ‘ the *Holy Ghost*, and his Productions upon the
 ‘ Soul; and it was an Excellency of our blessed
 ‘ *Saviour’s Office*, that he baptizes *All* that come
 ‘ to him with the *Holy Ghost* and with *Fire*: For
 ‘ so St. *John* preferring Christ’s Mission and OF-
 ‘ FICE before his own, tells the *Jews*, not Christ’s
 ‘ Disciples, that Christ shall baptize THEM with
 ‘ *Fire* and the *Holy Spirit*, that is, *All that come to*
 ‘ *him*, as *John* the Baptist did with *Water*, for so
 ‘ lies the *Antithesis*. And you may as well conclude,
 ‘ that Infants must also pass through the *Fire* as
 ‘ through the *Water*. And that we may not think
 ‘ this a Trick to elude the Pressure of this Place,
 ‘ *Peter* says the same Thing, for when he said
 ‘ that Baptism saves us, he adds by way of Expli-
 ‘ cation [not the washing of the *Flesh*, but the
 ‘ Confidence of a good Conscience] plainly say-
 ‘ ing that it is not *Water*, or the purifying of the
 ‘ Body, but the cleansing of the Spirit, that does
 ‘ that

* See his Discourse of the Liberty of Prophecyng. Sect. xviii.

‘ that which is supposed to be the *Effect* of Baptism.

‘ THE baptizing of Infants does rush us upon such Inconveniences, which in other Questions we avoid like Rocks, which will appear if we discourse thus. Either Baptism produces *spiritual Effects*, or it produces them not. If it produces not any, why is such Contention about it, what are we the nearer HEAVEN if we are baptized? And if it be neglected, what are we the farther off?

‘ EITHER Baptism is a meer *Ceremony*, or it implies a *Duty* on our Part. If it be a Ceremony only, how does it sanctifie us, or *make the Comers thereunto Perfect*? If it implies a *Duty* on our Part, how then can Children receive it, who cannot do Duty at all?

‘ AND indeed, this Way of Ministration makes Baptism to be wholly an outward Duty, or Work of the Law, a carnal Ordinance, it makes us adhere to the Letter, without Regard of the Spirit, to be satisfy’d with Shadows, to return to Bondage, to relinquish the Mystriousness, the Substance and Spirituality of the Gospel. Which Argument is of so much the more Consideration, because under the SPIRITUAL COVENANT, or the Gospel of Grace, if the *Mystery* goes not before the *Symbol* (which it does when the Symbols are Seals and Consignations of the Grace, as it is said the Sacraments are) yet it always accompanies it, but never follows in Order of Time: And this is clear in the perpetual Analogy of Holy Scripture. For Baptism is never propounded, mention’d or enjoin’d as a Means of Remission of Sins, or of Eternal Life, but something of Duty, Choice and Sanctity is join’d with it, in
‘ Order

- Order to Production of the End so mention'd:
- Know ye not that as many as are baptized into
- Christ Jesus, are baptized into his Death? Rom.
- vi. 3.* There is the Mystery and the Symbol
- together

* Some learned Men have taken those Words of the Apostle to be spoken of Water Baptism; and a late Commentator * on *Dr. Whitby* the New Testament, has paraphras'd Vers. 4. in this Manner, 'For therefore we are buried with him by Baptism (plunging us under the Water) into (a Conformity to his) Death, (which put his Body under the Earth) that like as Christ was raised up from the Grave by the Glory(ous Power) of the Father, even so we also (thus dead in Baptism) should (rise with him, and) walk in Newness of Life.' Hence he draws an Argument, which suits very well with the Opinion of the Baptists, that Immersion is the most ancient Baptism, and of greatest Authority. But alas! what is Immersion more than sprinkling with Water? What signifies, as Justin Martyr told Trypho the Jew, that which only washes the Flesh and the Body? What, in this Gospel Day, is the unprofitable Baptism in Pools and Cisterns, which is not the Baptism of Life to us? How much more Evangelical is the Exposition which good Bishop Taylor has given of the Apostle's Words! But still, how much more is the following Exposition of a French Bishop.

'What then does that Baptism mean, by which, as the Apostle assures us, we have been all bury'd with Jesus Christ in his Death? Where is this Death which our Christian Profession ought to work in us? Where is this Burial? Alas! I am for setting my self off, for being esteem'd, lov'd and distinguish'd. I would be taken Notice of by my Neighbour, engross his Esteem, and make an Idol of Reputation and Friendship! But to rob God of that Incense which burns on his Altars, is nothing in Comparison of the sacrilegious Robbery of a Soul, which would take That which belongs to God, and make it self the Idol of other Creatures.

'O Lord! Reputation and Friendship are all one to me, give and take as it seems meet to thee, and let Reputation, dearer than Life, become as Dirt: If it be for thy Glory, let me be trampled under Foot, let 'em tread upon me as upon the Graves of the Dead; let 'em despise, let 'em look on me with Horror and Detestation; let 'em spare me in nothing, all is good. If I am still desirous of keep-

ing

‘ together, and declar’d to be perpetually united,
 ‘ ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν. All of us who were baptized
 ‘ into

See Coloss. ch.
 2. 12, 13. &
 ch. 3. 1—4.

‘ ing any Thing alive, or have any secret View to esteem,
 ‘ I am not dead with Christ, I am not in a Condition to
 ‘ rise with him.

See Rom. 8.
 16.

‘ ’Tis only when we have known a putting off the wicked
 ‘ and corrupt Life of the *Old Man*, that we enter into the
 ‘ Life of the *New-Man*. Every Thing must die, Delights,
 ‘ Comforts, Repose, tender Friendship, Honour, Repu-
 ‘ tation; but all will be restor’d again *an Hundred Fold*, but
 ‘ we must first die to *All*, we must sacrifice *All*. When
 ‘ every Thing *in us* is lost, we shall find *All* again in *God*.
 ‘ That which we had in us in the corrupt State of the *Old-*
 ‘ *Man*, shall be restor’d us with the Purity of the *New*, as
 ‘ Metals cast into the Fire, lose not their pure Substance,
 ‘ but are refin’d from their Dross. Then, O my God, the
 ‘ same Spirit which groans and prays in us, will love in us
 ‘ more perfectly. O how much more great, more tender,
 ‘ and more generous will our Hearts be then! Our Love
 ‘ will not be that of weak and feeble Creatures, and of close
 ‘ and narrow Souls; *Infinite Love* will then love *in us*, our
 ‘ Love will bear the Likeness of God.

See 2 Cor. ch.
 3. 6.

*This is the Exposition, these are the Sentiments of the Arch-
 Bishop of Cambray; Sentiments which glow with the Spirit with
 which they were pen’d. This is not the Speculation of a dry Com-
 mentator: ’Tis not dwelling on the Letter which killeth, but like
 a Minister of the New Testament, ’tis entering into the Spirit of
 it, which giveth Life. ’Tis the Sense of one who had felt and
 experienc’d what he writ; one that suffer’d his Honour and Re-
 putation to be trampil’d upon, and himself to be banish’d from the
 Delights, Comforts, Repose and tender Friendship he enjoy’d in
 the Court of France, for the Sake of Truth; and for defending
 the Religious Sentiments of a Fanatical Lady, as the Bish p of
 Meaux, his and her great Adversary, call’d the Lady Guion, whose
 Writings he would have had the Archbishop to condemn, but he
 would not, because he found in them the true Spirit of Christia-
 nity, tho’ some of her Expressions might be liable to Exception.*

How agreeable is the Exposition which the Bishop of Cam-
 bray has given of the *Baptism* by which we are buried with
 Christ, to the Doctrine of the Apostle in his Epistle to the
Colossians; and to the following Words of Christ? *Verily I*
say unto you, there is no Man that hath left House or Brethren,

‘ into one, were baptiz’d into the other. Not
 ‘ only into the Name of Christ, but into his
 ‘ Death

or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife or Children, or Lands for my Sake and the Gospel's, but he shall receive an Hundred Fold, now in this Time, Houses, and Brethren, and Sisters, and Mothers, and Children, and Lands, with Persecutions; and in the World to come Eternal Life. Mark x. 29.

For the greater Satisfaction of the Reader who understands French, we have transcrib'd the Bishop's own Words, which require a Genius like his, to give them the same Force and Energy in a Translation as they have in the Original.

‘ Que signifie donc le Batême par lequel, comme l’Apotre
 ‘ nous l’assure, nous avons été tous ensvelis avec Jesus Christ
 ‘ par sa mort ? Où est-elle, cette mort, que le caractère de
 ‘ Chrétien doit operer en nous ? Où est-elle cette Sepul-
 ‘ ture ? Helas ! Je veux paroître, être approuvé, aimé, dis-
 ‘ tingué ! Je veux occuper mon prochain, posséder son
 ‘ coeur, me faire une Idole de la Reputacion & de l’Amitié !
 ‘ Derober à Dieu l’encens grossier qui brûle sur ses Autels
 ‘ n’est rien en comparaison du larcin sacrilege d’une ame qui
 ‘ veut enlever ce qui est dû à Dieu, & se faire l’idole des
 ‘ autres creatures.

Rom. 6. 4.

‘ Il en est, ô Seigneur, de la Reputacion comme de l’a-
 ‘ mitié : donnez otez selon vos desseins : que cette reputati-
 ‘ on, plus chere que la vie, devienne comme un linge sali :
 ‘ si vous y trouver votre gloire, qu’on passe qu’on repasse sur
 ‘ moi comme sur les morts qui sont dans le tombeau ; qu’on
 ‘ ne me compte pour rien ; qu’on ait horreur de moi ; qu’on
 ‘ ne m’épargne en rien, tout est bon : s’il me reste encore
 ‘ quelque sensibilité volontaire, quelque vue secrette sur la
 ‘ réputation, je ne suis point mort avec Jesus Christ, & je
 ‘ ne suis point en état d’entrer dans sa vie ressuscitée.

‘ Ce n’est qu’après l’extirpation de la vie maligne & cor-
 ‘ rompue du vieil-homme que nous passons dans la vie de
 ‘ l’homme nouveau. Il faut que tout meure, douceurs,
 ‘ consolations, repos, tendres amitiés, honneur, reputati-
 ‘ on : tout nous sera rendu au centuple ; mais il faut que
 ‘ tout meure, que tout soit sacrifié. Quand nous aurons tout
 ‘ perdu en nous, nous retrouverons tout en Dieu. Ce que
 ‘ nous avions en nous avec l’impureté du vieil-homme, nous
 ‘ sera rendu avec la pureté de l’homme renouvelé, comme
 ‘ les métaux mis au feu ne perdent point leur pure substance,
 ‘ mais

' Death also : But the Meaning of this as it is ex-
 ' plained in the following Words of St. Paul,
 ' makes much for our Purpose : For to be bap-
 ' tiz'd into his Death, signifies *to be buried with*
 ' *him in Baptism, that as Christ arose from the Dead,*
 ' *we also should walk in Newness of Life.* ver. 4.
 ' That's the full Mystery of Baptism ; for being
 ' baptiz'd into his Death, or which is all one in
 ' the next Words, *ἐν ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ* into
 ' *the Likeness of his Death,* cannot go alone, if we
 ' be so planted into Christ, *we shall be Partners of*
 ' *his Resurrection.* ver. 5. and that is not here in-
 ' stanced in precise Reward, but in exact Duty, for
 ' all this is nothing but *Crucifixion of the Old Man,*
 ' *a destroying the Body of Sin, that we no longer*
 ' *serve Sin.*

' THIS indeed is truly to be baptized both in
 ' the Symbol, and the Mystery : Whatsoever is
 ' less than this, is but the Symbol only, a *meer*
 ' Ceremony, an *Opus Operatum*, a Dead Letter, an
 ' Empty Shadow, an Instrument without an A-
 ' gent to manage, or Force to actuate it.

' PLAINER yet ; *Whosoever are baptized into*
 ' *Christ, have put on Christ, have put on the New*
 ' *Man :* But to put on this New Man, *is to be*
 ' *formed in Righteousness, and Holiness, and Truth :*
 ' This whole Argument is the very Words of St.
 ' Paul, The major Proposition is dogmatically
 ' determined, *Gal. iii. 27.* The minor in *Eph. 4. 24*
 ' The

' mais sont purifiés de ce qu'ils ont de grossier : Alors, mon
 ' Dieu, le même esprit, qui gemit & qui prie en nous, ai-
 ' mera en nous plus parfaitement. Combien nos cœurs se-
 ' ront ils plus grands, plus tendres, & plus généreux ? Nous
 ' n'aimerons plus en foibles créatures, & d'un cœur resserré
 ' dans d'étroites bornes. l'Amour infini aimera en nous,
 ' notre Amour portera le caractère de Dieu même. *Oeuvres*
Spirituelles, Tom. 2.

• The Conclusion then is obvious, that they who
 • are not formed *New in Righteousness, and Holiness,*
 • *and Truth,* they who remaining in the present
 • Incapacities, cannot *walk in Newness of Life,*
 • they have not been *baptized into Christ,* and then
 • they have but one Member of the Distinction
 • used by St. Peter, they have that Baptism
 • *which is a putting away the Filth of the Flesh;* but
 • they have not that Baptism *which is the Answer*
 • *of a good Conscience towards God;* which is the *Only*
 • *Baptism that saves us.* 1 Pet. i. 21. And this is
 • the Case of Children; and then the Case is thus,
 • As Infants by the Force of Nature cannot
 • put themselves into a supernatural Condition,
 • (and therefore say the *Pædo-Baptists,* they need
 • Baptism to put them into it,) so if they be baptized
 • before the Use of Reason, before the
 • *Works of the Spirit,* before the *Operations of*
 • *Grace,* before they can throw off the *Works of*
 • *Darkness, and live in Righteousness and Newness of*
 • *Life,* they are never the nearer. From the
 • Pains of Hell they shall be saved by the Mer-
 • cies of God and their own Innocence, though
 • they die *in puris naturalibus,* and Baptism will
 • carry them no farther. For that *Baptism that*
 • *saves us,* is not the only *washing with Water,* of
 • which only Children are capable, *but the Answer*
 • *of a good Conscience towards God,* of which they
 • are not capable till the Use of Reason, till they
 • know to chuse the good and refuse the Evil.

• AND, to say that Infants may be damn'd for
 • want of Baptism, (a Thing which is not in
 • their Power to acquire, they being Persons not
 • yet capable of a Law) is to affirm that of God
 • which we dare not say of any Wise and good
 • Man. Certainly it is much derogatory to God's
 P Justice

Justice, and a plain Defiance to the infinite Re-putation of his Goodness.

‘ AND therefore, whoever will pertinaciously persist in this Opinion of the *Pædo-Baptists*, and practise it accordingly, they pollute the Blood of the Everlasting Testament, they dishonour and make a Pageantry of the Sacrament, they ineffectually represent a *Sepulture* into the Death of Christ, and please themselves in a Sign without Effect, making Baptism like the Fig-tree in the Gospel, full of Leaves but no Fruit ; and they invoke the Holy Ghost in vain, * Doing as if one should call upon him to illuminate a Stone or a Tree.

HERE we have the true Baptism describ’d, the Baptism of the *Spirit*, by which we are bury’d with Christ, and rise again to Newness of Life, those who have been thus baptiz’d, are fit to partake of the *Lord’s Supper*, not of a Wafer or Bread consecrated by a *Priest*, but of that Bread, *which is He that cometh down from Heaven, and giveth Life unto the World* ; of that *Living Bread* of which Christ said, *if a Man eat of this Bread he shall live for Ever*, or of that *Daily Bread* which Christ taught his Disciples to pray for, in that most excellent and comprehensive Prayer often repeated

Joh. 6.33.
51.

* ‘ Give thy Holy Spirit to *this Infant*, that *He* may be born again, and be made an *Heir* of Everlasting Salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, Amen. And, Regard, we beseech thee, the Supplication of thy Congregation ; sanctifie this Water to the mystical Washing away of Sin ; And grant that *this Child*, now to be baptiz’d therein, may receive the Fulness of thy Grace, and ever remain in the Number of thy faithful and Elect Children, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. See the Book of Common Prayer. *In which Baptism of Infants.*

peated by Multitudes, and yet we fear understood but by very few of them. *Give us this Day our daily Bread.** ‘ What, *says the Archbishop of Cambray*, is this Bread, O my God? ‘Tis not ‘ *only* the Food which thy Providence gives us ‘ for the sustaining our Lives, ‘tis also that Nourishment of Truth thou Daily givest the Soul. ‘ ‘Tis that Bread which nourisheth to Life Eternal ; which causes us to grow, and makes us ‘ strong in the Time of Tryal of our Faith. Thou ‘ renewest it *Daily* : Thou givest internally and ‘ outwardly, just so much as is necessary for the ‘ Soul to grow in the Life of Faith, and in the ‘ Denial of *Self*. I must then eat this Bread, and ‘ with a resign’d and willing Mind, receive all ‘ the bitter Things which thou shalt send me, ‘ both in my outward Affairs and in my own ‘ Soul ; for every Thing that happens to me in ‘ the Course of the Day, is my *Daily Bread*, if ‘ I refuse not to accept it at thy Hand, and to ‘ nourish my self by it.

P 2

THE

* *Donnez-nous aujourd'hui notre pain quotidien.* Quel est-il ce pain, ô mon Dieu ? Ce n'est pas seulement le soutien que votre Providence nous donne pour les nécessités de la vie : c'est encore cette nourriture de vérité que vous donnez chaque jour à l'ame. C'est un pain qui nourrit pour la vie éternelle ; qui fait croître, & qui rend l'ame robuste dans les épreuves de la foi. Vous le renouvelez chaque jour. Vous donnez au dedans & au dehors précisément ce qu'il faut à l'ame pour s'avancer dans la vie de la foi, & dans le renoncement à elle-même. Je n'ai donc qu'à manger ce pain, & qu'à recevoir en esprit de Sacrifice tout ce que vous me donnerez d'amér dans les affaires extérieures, & dans le fonds de mon cœur ; car tout ce qui m'arrivera dans le cours de la journée est mon pain quotidien, pourvu que je ne refuse pas de le prendre de votre main, & de m'en nourrir.

Luc. 11. 3.

THE same Author in his Meditations on *Lent*,
 says, ‘ * *Here am I, O my God in a Time of Pri-*
 ‘ *vation and Abstinence: But ’tis nothing to fast*
 ‘ *from the Food which nourisheth the Body, if*
 ‘ *we fast not also from every Thing that nourishes*
 ‘ *Self-Love.* Give me therefore, O thou Spouse
 ‘ of Souls, that inward Virginity, that pure
 ‘ Heart, that Sequestration from every Creature,
 ‘ that Sobriety which the Apostle speaks of, by
 ‘ which we use no Creature but for Necessity, as
 ‘ temperate Persons take Victuals only for their
 ‘ Sustenance. O happy Fast, in which the Soul
 ‘ holds all its Senses in a Privation of what is su-
 ‘ perfluous! O holy Abstinence, in which the
 ‘ Soul, being obedient to the Will of God, gra-
 ‘ tifies not its own Will! It has, as Christ had,
 ‘ other Meat by which ’tis nourished. Give me,
 ‘ O Lord! that Bread which is *above all Sub-*
 ‘ *stance* * that Bread which will for ever satisfie
 ‘ the

* ‘ Me voici, mon Dieu, en un tems de privation & d’ab-
 ‘ stinence ; mais ce n’est rien que de jeûner des viandes
 ‘ grossieres ; qui nourrissent le corps, si on ne jeûne aussi de
 ‘ tout ce qui sert d’aliment à l’amour propre. Donnez moi
 ‘ donc, ô Epoux des ames, cette virginité intérieur, cette
 ‘ pureté de coeur, cette séparation de toute créature, cette
 ‘ sobriété dont parle votre Apôtre, par laquelle on n’use
 ‘ d’aucune créature que pour le seul besoin, comme les per-
 ‘ sonnes sobres usent des viandes pour la nécessité. O bien
 ‘ heureux jeûne, où l’ame tient tous les sens dans la priva-
 ‘ tion du superflu ! O sainte abstinence, où l’ame rassasiée
 ‘ de la volonté de Dieu, ne se nourrit jamais de sa volonté
 ‘ propre ! Elle a, comme *Jesus Christ*, une autre viande dont
 ‘ elle se nourrit. Donnez le moi, Seigneur, ce pain qui est
 ‘ au-dessus de toute substance, ce pain que apaisera à jamais
 ‘ la Faim de mon coeur, ce pain qui éteint tous les desirs,
 ‘ ce pain qui est la vraie manne, & qui tien lieu de tout.

* *The Author here alludes to the Original Greek Word ἐπίου-*
ριον above all Substance, and so the old Latin Translation has
it

‘ the Hunger of my Soul, that Bread which extinguishes all my Desires, that Bread which is the TRUE MANNA, and serves instead of every Thing else.

Now a Partaking of the Bread here describ'd, is we think, a true and real Participation of the Lord's Supper ; and Material Bread even after Consecration, as 'tis call'd, not being, in the Judgment of all Protestants, the Body of Christ, 'tis the Belief and Opinion of the *Quakers*, that when any come to know and witness *in themselves* a Participation of this Bread, and of that Flesh and Blood which Christ spake of, when he said, *he that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me and I in him*, they have no Occasion for Material Bread and Wine to commemorate Christ's Death and Sufferings, or to keep him in Remembrance. ‘ For * 'tis a great Mistake, says Dr.

P 3

‘ Stanhope

it, Panem nostrum supersubstantialem. Mir. vi. 11. ‘ Heinssii *verba*, & Hieronymus dicit, *Quid nos supersubstantialem expressimus, in Græco ἐπίστοιον habetur. Eadem Interpretatio, eundem Patrem eo impulit, ut Panem qui super omnes substantias sit, & universas superet creaturas, intelligi vellet. Unde Anagogæ veterum, de pane alio, cal st i magis quam quotidiano. De quo pssim. Inter quos nonnulli, ἐπίστοιον, ἢ καταβάλλω ἀπ' ἑρανῶ, interpretati sunt. Procopius, ut cæteros omittam, at Leviticum, ὅτε καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῖν ἐσθωρήσασθαι βέλτισμα. ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ καβαλάνθου ἐξ ἑρανῶ, μετελήφαμεν. Heinssii Exercitationes Sacrae in Matt. As he has bestowed on us the Divine Baptism, so likewise we have partaken of the Bread which cometh down from Heaven.*

* These are the Words of the Devout and Pious Thomas à Kempis, Book 4. Ch. x.* according to Dr. Stanhope's Translation,

* Potest enim quilibet Devotus, omni die & omni hora, ad Spiritualem Christi communionem, salubriter & sine Prohibitione accedere.—Nam toti mysticè communicat, & invisibiliter reficitur, quoties incarnationis Christi mysterium passionemque devotè recollit, & in Amore ejus accenditur, *De Imitatione Christi Lib. 4. Cap. x.*

‘ *Stanbope*, to imagine that good Men receive
 ‘ not the Advantages of Christ’s Body and Blood,
 except

lation, which varies a little from the Original Latin, tho’ in Substance the same. We suppose the Translator endeavour’d to accomodate his Version to the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, For in the Communion of the Sick ’tis said, ‘ If a Man, either by Reason of Extremity of Sickneſs, or for Want of Warning in due Time to the Curate, or for lack of Company to receive with him, or by any other juſt Impediment, do not receive the Sacrament of Chriſt’s Body and Blood, the Curate ſhall inſtruct him, that if he do truly repent him of his Sins, and ſtedfaſtly believe that Jeſus Chriſt hath ſuffer’d Death upon the Croſs for him, and ſhed his Blood for his Redemption, earneſtly remembering the Benefits he hath thereby, and giving him hearty Thanks therefore, he doth eat and drink the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt profitably to his Soul’s Health, although he do not receive the Sacrament with his Mouth.

Tædag. Lib.
 1. c. 6.

This Doctrine of the Church of *England* is agreeable to the Sentiments of divers of the ancient Fathers as they are call’d. *Clemens Alexandrinus* takes theſe Expreſſions, ‘ to Eat the *Fleſh* of Chriſt and to drink his Blood, to be as figurative as that of St. *Paul*, to feed with Milk, and tells us upon this Occaſion, that the *WORD* is variously allegoriz’d, being call’d *Mett* and *Fleſh*, and *Nouriſhment*, and *Bread*, and *Blood*, and *Milk*: and that our Lord is all theſe Things for our Enjoyment who believe in him.

De Reſur.
 Ca. 11. c. 36.
 37.

‘ *Tertullian* ſays, upon theſe Words of Chriſt, *He that eateth my Fleſh and drinketh my Blood &c.* Becauſe they thought his Saying hard and intolerable, as if he intended his Fleſh ſhould be truly eaten by them, he to ſhew that the Cauſe of Life and Salvation was ſpiritual, premis’d this, ‘ *Thou ſeeſt the Spirit quickeneth*; and then added, *The Fleſh profiteth nothing*, that is, in reſpect of quickning; And then he ſhews what he means by the *SPIRIT*, *The Words that I ſpeak unto you, they are Spirit and they are Life.* As he had ſaid alſo before, *He that heareth my Words, and believeth in him that ſent me, hath Eternal Life, and ſhall not come into Condemnation, but hath paſſ’d from Death to Life.* Therefore making his *Word* to be the quickning Principle; ſince his Word is Spirit and Life, he called his Word alſo his own

except just then when they receive the *Outward*
and *visible Signs of them*. Every Day, every
Hour

own *Flesh*; for the *WORD* was also made *Flesh*: and there-
fore in Order to *Life*, it is to be hungered after, and de-
voured by *Hearing*, and to be chewed again by the *Un-*
derstanding, and to be digested by *Faith*.

Origen also interprets *Flesh* and *Blood* in like Manner: For, says he, by the *Flesh* and the *Blood* of his *WORD*, as
In Levit. Hom. 7.

with pure Meat and Drink, he refresheth all Mankind.
Athanasius speaking of the literal Sense in which the Jews
understood our Saviour, hath these Words, 'For how could
' his Body suffice for so many to eat of, that it should be-
' come *Nourishment* for the whole World? It is, says he, In illud Evan-
gel. Quicunq;
dixerit, &c.

' for this Reason that he mentioned the Son of Man's as-
cending into Heaven, that he might draw them off from
' the *Corporeal Notion*.
Macarius upon these Words, *The Children of Israel having*
kept the Passover &c., says, 'The Soul advances forwards
' having once received the Life of the *Holy Spirit*, and tasted
' of the *Lamb*, and been anointed with his *Blood*, and fed
' upon the *true Bread*, the *Living WORD*. Homil. 47.

Eusebius in his Explication of these Words, *It is the Spi-*
rit that quickeneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing, the Words that I
speak unto you, they are Spirit and they are Life. 'Do not
' think that I speak of that *Flesh* which I carry about me,
' as if you ought to eat that, or that I command you to
' drink my sensible and corporeal Body. You well under-
' stand that the *Words* which I speak to you, are *Spirit* and
' *Life*. So that his Words and Doctrines are *Flesh* and *Blood*,
' of which whoever constantly partakes, he being nourished
' with Heavenly Bread, as it were, shall partake of the
' *Heavenly Life*. Contra Mo-
r. de Ecclef.
Theolog. Lib.
3. c. 12.

Augustin in his Book of the City of God, has these re-
markable Words, 'Lastly, Jesus Christ himself saying, *He*
' *that eateth my Flesh and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me*
' and

* *De Civit. Dei* Lib. 21. Cap. 25. Denique ipse dicens, qui manducat
Carnem meam & bibit Sanguinem meum, in me manet & ego in eo, os-
tendit quid sit non Sacramento tantum, sed revera Corpus Christi manduca-
re & ejus Sanguinem bibere; hoc est in Christomanere, ut in illo maneat
& vivat. Sic enim hoc dicit tanquam diceret, Qui non in me manet,
& in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare Corpus
meum aut bibere Sanguinem meum.

- ‘ Hour furnishes Opportunities of communicating
 ‘ spiritually. That Mystical Communion with
 ‘ Christ, is attained in secret, and constantly fol-
 ‘ lows

‘ and I in him, sheweth what it is to eat the Body of Christ,
 ‘ and drink his Blood, not by the Sacrament, but verily and
 ‘ indeed ; for this is to dwell in Christ, so as that Christ
 ‘ dwelleth in him. For his speaking this was as if he had
 ‘ said, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell
 ‘ not, should not say or think that he eateth my Flesh, or
 ‘ drinketh my Blood.

*We might have gone on and cited Bertram upon the Body and
 Blood of Christ, and many other Authors both Ancient and Mo-
 dern, whose Sense and Judgment was, ‘ That to eat the Flesh of
 ‘ Christ and to drink his Blood, was to eat and drink it Spiri-
 ‘ tually, so as good and holy Men Only do partake thereof:
 ‘ And it is farther observable, that if to eat that Food and
 ‘ drink that Drink be, as Augustine says, to dwell in Christ
 ‘ and to have Christ dwell in us ; then all holy Persons do con-
 ‘ stantly eat the Flesh and drink the Blood of Christ, because
 ‘ they still dwell in Christ and Christ in them ; And conse-
 quently as Dr. Stanhope has very rightly said, Every Day,
 every Hour, furnishes Opportunities of communicating spiritually.
 And that this is also the Sense and Judgment of the People
 call’d Quakers, might be abundantly shewn from their
 Writings.*

As our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ when on
 Earth, press’d with great Earnestness the Necessity of eat-
 ing his Flesh and Drinking his Blood, saying to the Jews,
Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood,
ye have no Life in you : So the People call’d Quakers, whom
 God has been pleas’d to raise up in these latter Times, to
 bear a Testimony to the *Spiritual Appearance of Christ* in the
 Heart, have most earnestly recommended the Knowledge
 and Experience of an eating of the *True Bread, the Living*
Word, that Bread of God, that cometh from, and leadeth up
 to God, as one of the most essential and necessary Duties of
 Christianity. To give a single Instance of it (of which their
 Books and publick Declarations have many) we shall
 transcribe Part of a Letter which *William Penn* writ
 to the Countess de *Hernes*, who resided with Princess
Elizabeth at Herwerden in Germany.

For

See Dr. Cl-
 get's Paraph.
 on John 6.

John 6. 53.

‘ lows upon every religious Meditation concern-
 ‘ ing his Incarnation and Sufferings, or any other
 ‘ of

For Anna Maria de Hornes, *stiled Countess of*
 Hornes, *at Herwerden in Germany.*

My dear Friend,

O that thou mayst for ever dwell in the sweet and tender
 Sense of that Divine Love and Life, which hath visited
 thy Soul, affected and overcome thy Heart ! O tell me, hath
 it not sometimes raised thy Spirit above the World, and
 fill'd thee with fervent and passionate Desires ; yea, holy
 Resolutions to follow *Jesus* thy blessed *Saviour*, who hath
 given his most precious Blood for thee, that thou shouldst
 not live to thy self, but to him that hath so dearly purchased
 thee.

See an Ac-
 count of *Wil-*
liam Penn's
 Travels in
Holland and
Germany.

O the *Retired, Humble, Reverent* Frame that I have be-
 held thee in, when this *bless'd Life* hath drawn thee into *it*
self, and adorned and season'd thee with its own heavenly
Virtue ; *beautifying* thy very Countenance beyond all the
 vain and foolish Ornaments of the wanton Daughters of *So-*
dom and *Egypt*, for therein are *Charms* not known to the
 Children of this World.

O that this holy and chaste Life may be always precious
 with thee ! and that thou mayst be for ever chastly kept
 in the Love and *Fellowship* of it ! That out of *this World's* Na-
 ture, Spirit and Practice, thou mayst be redeemed by him,
 who is the *Way*, the *Truth* and the *Life* ; who, as thou watch-
 est with holy Vigilance, will not only daily manifest the De-
 vices of the Enemy to thee, but save thee from him. For
 Christ's Work in thee is *thy Sanctification*, as it is in him his
 Father's Will, as he said of old to his Disciples, *This is the*
Will of God even your Sanctification.

My dear beloved Friend, be stedfast, immoveable, without
 Wavering ; and work out thy great Salvation with *Fear* and
Trembling ; and lose not that sweet and precious Sense that
 the Lord hath begotten in thee : It is soon lost, at least weak-
 ned, but hard to recover.——

Wherefore, my dear Friend, be faithful and watch a-
 gainst the Workings of the Spirit of this World in thy self ;
 that the Nature and Image of it in all Things may be cru-
 cified, that thou mayst know an entire Translation with
 holy *Enoch*, and walk with God. *Jesus*, the holy Light, is this
 Cross

‘ of the myſterious Works, by which the Re-
 ‘ demption of Mankind was compleated, and the
 ‘ pious

Croſs and Power of God, that killeth and maketh alive ; and he is the heavenly *Vine* too ; if thou abideſt in him, thou wilt bring forth Fruit. But if thou abideſt not in him, thou wilt not bring forth that Fruit, in which the Heavenly Father only can be glorified. O ſee what the Mind daily abideth in ! O my Soul is even raviſh’d with the Senſe of that holy and quiet Habitation ! *In me*, ſaith he, *you ſhall have Peace, but in the World Trouble ; however be of good Cheer, I have overcome the World, I am not of the World.*

There are *two Trees* of differing Natures that have *contrary* Fruits and Leaves. The one is the *Tree of Life*, which is *Chriſt* ; the other the *Tree of Death*, and that is *Satan*. The Fruit of the one giveth *Life*, the Fruit of the other bringeth *Death* ; the *Leaves* of the firſt *Heal* ; the *Leaves* of the laſt *Poiſon*. Many that diſcern the *Tree*, cannot clearly diſtinguiſh the *Branches* : And thoſe that ſee many *Arms* and *Branches*, cannot diſtinctly behold the *Fruit*, much leſs the *Leaves*. This cometh by the *gradual Discoveries* and *Revelations* of the *Light* of *Jeſus*, the *WORD* of God, as it is daily received, and daily obeyed. Yea, and that *WORD* is the *Ax* and *Sword* of the Almighty, to cut it down ; daily feel the *Strokes* of this Eternal ſearching *LIGHT* and *WORD* at the very *Root* of this corrupt *Tree*, this Evil one, and his corrupt Nature, Works and Effects. For which End *Jeſus Chriſt* is come, and therefore is call’d a *Saviour*, which is little known in Truth to the *Chriſtians* of this World.

Ah my dear Friend, thou knoweſt this *WORD*, yea thou haſt felt it : O hide it in *thy Heart* ! Treasure it up in *thy Soul*, and love it, and abide with it for ever. Alas ! whither ſhouldeſt thou go ? This hath the *Words*, and is the *WORD* of Eternal Life ; *daily* therefore watch and wait, that thou mayſt be grafted more into it ; that thou mayſt live and grow by the Virtue and Life of it ; and that it may grow in thy Heart, as it grew amongſt the firſt *Chriſtians*, the holy Followers of the *Perſecuted Jeſus*. And when it ſearcheth thy Wound, and cutteth away thy dead Fleſh ; yea when it *ſep. r. ueth* between the Soul and the Spirit of this World, and *divideth between Joints and Marrow* ; when it *cutteth off the Right Hand*, and *plucketh out the Right Eye* ;

‘ pious Affections of Christians are cherish’d and
‘ inflamed.

WHAT Dr. *Stanhope* here says, the *Quakers* truly believe, and many of them have known and witness’d, that every Day, every Hour furnishes Opportunities

O watch unto Prayer, and pray that thou mayst endure! O keep the holy Patience of this pure and living WORD; and this very WORD will keep thee in the Hour of thy sharpest Trials, and sorest Tribulations! All Virtue is in it! It is a tried Word, a sure Refuge; the Staff and Strength of the Righteous in all Ages. ’Twas David’s TEACHER and Buckler; a LIGHT to his Feet, and a Lanthorn to his Paths. Walk thou in the Light thereof, and thou shalt not stumble: In this WORD is Life (as in the Root) and this Life is the Light of Men. They that receive and love the Light of it, will therein receive Divine Life from it to live to God. This is the Bread of God that cometh from God, and feedeth, and leadeth up to God: By this only, that which is born of God liveth, and is nourished. This is that Carcass to which the wise Eagles gather; and see thou gatherest to no other, and feedest on no other. This is that hidden Manna that cometh from Heaven; that feedeth God’s Gospel Israel. The World hath a Manna, but it perisheth; but this endureth for ever. For ’tis not of Man, nor from Man, but Immortal, and from God; hid from the Knowledge of all the vain Christians in the World: So that the Israel of God can say to the Children of this World, and that in Truth and Righteousness, We have a Bread you know not of. For this Manna wait daily, that thou mayst be strengthened in thy Wilderness-Travel to the Land of Eternal Rest.

Wherefore labour not for the Bread that perisheth, that is, the Bread of Man’s *Inventing* and *Making*, which cometh from *Below*, and profiteth not, because it giveth not *Life Eternal*. But labour thou (*my dear Friend*) for the BREAD that *Never* perisheth, that endureth for ever, and that giveth *Life Eternal* to all that feed upon it. O cast thy Care upon this WORD, love it, and dwell with it, wait daily upon it, hear its *Voice* only, and follow it, for it bringeth the Soul to the eternal Habitation of Rest and Glory. Yea, when all Flesh shall wither, and the Beauty thereof fade away. this WORD, and they that are grafted into it, shall abide for ever. O that this may be thy *Choice*, and it shall be thy *Diadem*, and thy *Eternal Crown of Glory*.

Opportunities of communicating spiritually with Christ, and even in the Midst of their Daily Labours and Vocations, they have often witnessed the sweet and Heavenly Communion and *Supper* of the Lord, and therefore ever since they have been a People, their chief Business in their *Publick Preaching* has been earnestly to exhort all to turn in their Minds, and to look within for the Appearance and Coming of Christ, who said *Behold I stand at the Door and knock, if any Man hear my Voice, and open the Door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and be with me.* Rev. iii. 20.

See also
John 14.
23.

WERE it not much better therefore, if the Professors of Christianity would leave off contending about the Way and Manner of taking Bread and Wine, in Commemoration of Christ's Death, and recommend and exhort their Hearers to press diligently after an Acquaintance with Christ in his spiritual Appearance in the Heart? Surely this would tend much more to the Benefit of every particular Soul, than such Zeal about what, they themselves acknowledge, is but an *Outward and visible Sign of an Inward and Spiritual Grace.*

AND as the *Corinthians* of old, according to the Words of the Apostle, did eat the Bread and drink the Cup without discerning the Lord's Body, so we believe 'tis the Case of many now-a-days who are mighty zealous for the outward Ceremony of taking Bread and Wine, in Commemoration of the Lord's Death. The Archbishop of *Cambray*, personating some such, says, '* Hitherto, O my Saviour, I have not been nourish'd with
thy

* ' Jusqu'ici, ô mon Sauveur, je ne me suis point nourri
' de votre vérité ; je me suis nourri des Cérémonies de la
' Religion, de l'éclat de certaines vertus qui élèvent le
courage;

' thy *Truth*, I have been nourish'd only with the
 ' Ceremonies of Religion, with the Splendor of
 ' certain Virtues that heighten Courage, with de-
 ' cent Behaviour, with a Regularity in outward
 ' Actions, with a forc'd Victory over my Hu-
 ' mour, to show nothing but what was compleat.
 ' This is no more than the outward Vail of the
 ' Sacrament. But the Ground of the Sacrament
 ' it self, but that *Substantial Truth*, and that
 ' which is *above all Substance* limited and compris'd,
 ' where is it? Alas! I have not sought it, I have
 ' thought only of regulating the Outside without
 ' a Change within. That Worship in Spirit and
 ' in Truth, which consists in the Destruction of all
 ' Self-Will to let God's Will only reign, is almost
 ' unknown to me. My Mouth has eaten that
 ' which is outward and sensible in the Sacrament,
 ' and my Heart has not been nourish'd with this
 ' *Substantial Truth*.

' O holy and miraculous Nourishment! None
 ' can eat thee worthily, but he must die a perfect
 ' Death.

' courage; de la bienséance, de la régularité des actions ex-
 ' térieures, de la victoire que j'avois besoin de remporter
 ' sur mon humeur pour ne montrer rien que ne fût parfait.
 ' Voilà le voile grossier du Sacrement. Mais le fond du Sa-
 ' crement même, mais cette vérité substantielle, & au-des-
 ' sus de toute substance bornée & comprise, où est-elle?
 ' Hélas! je ne l'ai point cherchée; J'ai songé à régler le de-
 ' hors sans changer le dedans. Cette adoration en esprit &
 ' en vérité, qui consiste en la destruction de toute volonté
 ' propre, pour laisser régner en moi celle de Dieu seul, m'est
 ' encore presque inconnue. Ma bouche a mangé ce qui est
 ' extérieur & sensible dans le Sacrement, & mon cœur n'a
 ' point été nourri de cette Vérité substantielle.

' Nourriture sainte & miraculeuse! Nul ne peut vous
 ' manger dignement qu'il ne meure d'une mort parfaite.
 ' Nul ne peut vous manger dignement, qu'il n'ait en soi la
 ' Source

' Death ; none can eat thee worthily, but he
 ' must have in himself the very Source and Earn-
 ' est of Life. Whosoever eats thee as he ought,
 ' dies entirely to himself, but at the same Time
 ' that he dies, he rises again for thee. Thou art
 ' a healing Nourishment, thou art therefore for
 ' the Weak ; thou art Nourishment which inevi-
 ' tably causes them to perish who cannot bear it,
 ' thou art therefore at the same Time Nourish-
 ' ment for the Strong. O Heavenly Bread, who
 ' changest Men into Angels, and Servants into
 ' Children ! Correct my Imperfections, heal all
 ' my Weaknesses, and give me Strength worthy
 ' of thee. Make me die to Death and rise to
 ' Life, so that being thus risen, I may no more
 ' do the Actions of Death, I may no longer have
 ' a

' Source & le gage essentiel de la vie. Quiconque vous
 ' mange comme il doit, meurt entierement à lui-même ;
 ' mais en même tems qu'il meurt il resuscite pour vous. Vous
 ' êtes une nourriture medicinale, vous êtes donc pour les
 ' foibles ; vous êtes une nourriture qui fait périr sans ressource
 ' ceux qui n'ont pas la force de la soutenir, vous êtes donc
 ' en même tems la nourriture des forts. O Pain celeste, qui
 ' transformez les hommes en Anges, & les serviteurs en en-
 ' fans ! Corrigez mes imperfections, guerissez toutes mes
 ' foiblesses, & donnez moi une force digne de vous. Faites
 ' moi mourir à la mort, & resusciter à la vie, de maniere
 ' qu'étant ainsi resuscité, je ne fasse plus des actions de mort,
 ' que je n'aie plus le goût de mort que donnent les choses de
 ' la terre ; mais que nourri des azimes de la verité & de la
 ' sincérité, je ne goûte que les choses célestes, dans les-
 ' quelles consiste la vie. Que ma vie charnelle soit morte,
 ' & cachée en Dieu avec vous ; pendant que resuscité aussi
 ' avec vous je vivrai d'un esprit dégagé de la corruption de
 ' la terre, & attaché à l'incorruptibilité des choses du Ciel,
 ' où vous regnez assis à la droite de votre Père dans l'im-
 ' mensité de la gloire que vous possédez pour jamais, & que
 ' vous communiquez éternellement à vos Elus, au nombre
 ' desquels je supplie votre misericorde infinie de recevoir mon
 ' indignité. Amen.

' a liking to that Death which the Things of the
 ' World give; but being nourish'd with the *un-* See 1 Cor.
 ' *leavened Bread of the Truth and Sincerity*, I may 5. 8.
 ' relish only Heavenly Things in which is Life.
 ' Let my carnal Life be dead and *hid with God in* Coloss. 3-4
 ' *thee*; that being risen with thee, I may live with
 ' a Mind disengag'd from the Corruption of the
 ' Earth, and fixed on the Incorruptibility of
 ' Things in Heaven, where thou reignest, sitting
 ' at the Right Hand of thy Father, in the immense
 ' Glory, which thou possessest for Ever, and
 ' which thou wilt communicate Eternally to thy
 ' Elect, of which Number, I beseech thy Infinite
 ' Mercy, to receive me thy unworthy Servant.
 ' Amen.

O F

Women's Preaching.

TIS much objected to the Principles of the
Quakers, that they allow *Women* to Preach
 and Pray in their Publick Assemblies for Wor-
 ship. But,

HOWEVER strange that Practice may be thought,
 yet we doubt not but to make appear by *Scripture*,
 that Women were allow'd to Preach and
 Pray in the Publick Assemblies in the Time of
 the Apostles, and that it is a *Privilege* they are to
 enjoy under the *Gospel-Dispensation*.

ON the Day Christ ascended up into Heaven,
 many of his Disciples being met together, *he com-*
manded them that they should not depart from Jeru-
salem, but wait for the Promise of the Father, Acts 1. 4.
which

- which saith he, ye have heard of me, for John truly
 5. baptized with Water ; but ye shall be baptized with
 6. the HOLY GHOST not many Days hence : When they
 therefore were come together, they asked of him saying,
 Lord, wilt thou at this Time restore again the King-
 7. dom to Israel ? And he said unto them, It is not for
 you to know the Times or the Seasons which the Fa-
 8. ther hath put in his own Power. But ye shall re-
 ceive POWER after that the Holy Ghost is come upon
 you : And ye shall be Witnesses unto me both in Jeru-
 salem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto
 the uttermost Part of the Earth. And when he had
 9. spoken these Things, while they beheld, he was taken
 up, and a Cloud receiv'd him out of their Sight.

- Then returned they unto Jerusalem from the Mount
 12. called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath-
 13. Day's Journey. And when they were come in, they
 went up into an Upper-Room, where abode both Pe-
 ter and James, and John, and Andrew, Philip
 and Thomas, Bartholomew, and Matthew, James
 the Son of Alphaeus, and Simon Zelotes, and Judas
 the Brother of James. These all continued with one
 14. Accord in Prayer and Supplication with the WOMEN,
 and Mary the Mother of Jesus, and with his Bre-
 thren. The Number of Names together were about
 15. an Hundred and Twenty.

And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come,
 Ch. 2. 1. they were all with one Accord in one Place. And
 suddenly there came a Sound from Heaven, as of a
 rushing mighty Wind, and it filled all the House
 where they were sitting. And there appeared unto
 them cloven Tongues, like as of Fire, and it sat upon
 EACH * of them. And they were ALL filled with
 the

* *Crisostom expounds these Words, And it sat upon each
 of them. That is, it remain'd with them and rested in them.
 For*

the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other Tongues, as the Spirit gave them Utterance.

Now the Evangelists having told us, that there were *Women* amongst those who were met together to wait for the *Promise* of the Holy Ghost, and that they were *All* fill'd with the Holy Ghost, it necessarily follows, that the *Women* were also fill'd with the Holy Ghost as well as the Men. And this is confirm'd, by the Application *Peter* made at that Time of *Joel's* Prophecie: For when the *Jews*, devout *Men* out of every *Nation* were amazed, saying one to another, what meaneth this? *Peter* standing up with the *Eleven*, lift up his Voice, and said unto them, Ye *Men* of *Judea*, and all ye that dwell at *Jerusalem*, be this known unto you and bearken unto my Words: For these are not drunken, as ye suppose, seeing it is but the *Third Hour* of the Day; But this is that which was spoken by the Prophet *Joel*. And it shall come to pass in the last Days†

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sattb

For the Word Sate declares the Stability and Abiding of it. But what did it come only upon the Twelve and not upon the Rest? Nay, but it came also upon the Hundred and Twenty. Nor did Peter rashly cite the Testimony of Joel the Prophet, saying, And it shall come to pass in the last Days, &c.

καὶ ἐκαθίσεν ἐφ' ἑνα ἑκάστον αὐτῶν. τοῦτέσι, πρέφεινεν, ἐπα-
νεπαύσατο. τὸ γὰρ καθίσαι, τῷ ἐδραΐεσι σημαντικὸν καὶ
τῷ μέναι. τί δαί; ἄρ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δώδεκα μένοισι ἦλθεν,
ἐχὶ ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς; οὐδαμῶς. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐκατὸν εἰκοσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀνάπλωσ περιήγαγε τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῷ
προφῆτῳ ὁ πῆτρος, λέγων, καὶ ἔσαι ἐν ταῖς ἔχαις &c. Chry-
sostomi in Acta Apost. Cap. 2. Homil. 4.

† Pool's Annot. And it shall come to pass in the last Days. In the Time of the Messiah, called the Last Days frequently, 2 Tim. 3. 1. Heb. 1. 2. 2 Pet. 3. 3. as also the Last Time, 1 Pet. 1. 5. 1 John 2. 18. Jude 18. because we are now under the last, and perfectest Dispensation of the Things of God; and no other is to be looked for until the Consummation of

saieth God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your DAUGHTERS shall prophesie, and your Young Men shall see Visions, and your Old Men shall dream Dreams. And on my Servants, and on my HANDMAIDENS, I will pour out in those Days of my Spirit, and they shall prophesie.

IN *Joel's* Prophecy we see *Daughters* and *Handmaidens* are spoke of; and if there had not been *Women* at that Time who receiv'd the Pouring out of the Spirit, his Prophecy could not have been aptly cited: But *Peter's* citing that Prophecy, saying, *This is that which was spoken by the Prophet Joel*, does plainly shew that *Joel's* Prophecy was then fulfill'd, and consequently there were *WOMEN* at that Time who receiv'd the Pouring out of the Spirit as well as the Men.

AND it plainly appears by Scripture, that *WOMEN* receiv'd the Gift of Prophecy after the Time of Pentecost, for 'tis said, *thar Philip the*
Acts 21.9. Evangelist had four Daughters which did prophesie. And,

BY the first Epistle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, it is very evident, that the Gifts of the Spirit were given to the Church of *Corinth*, and that *Women* prophesied in the Congregation as well as Men,
 for

‘ of all Things. Before the Spirit was given in lesser Measures, and comparatively but by Drops; here a little, and there a little; Now more largely, even to overflow.

‘ And on my Servants and on my Handmaidens. To shew what all ought to be, that hope for to receive any Benefit or Comfort from the Promises of God, either in the Law or Gospel, the Old or New Testament; viz. such as seek and serve God; but to the Disobedient and Unbelieving, there is not a comfortable Word in all the Book of God. Some read without the Pronoun, on Servants and Handmaidens; to shew that God doth not despise Men of the lowest Rank and Condition in the World, but that the Promise of the Spirit is made unto them also.

for the Apostle takes Notice of a *Woman's* Praying and Prophefying with her Head uncover'd, as he does of the Man's being cover'd, which implies that the Actions of Praying and Prophefying were perform'd in Publick by the *Women* as well as the *Men*. And from the Apostle's own Words we shall make it appear, that the Action of Prophefying was Preaching* by the immediate *Influence* and *Moving* of the *Holy Spirit*, and also that the Apostle prefer'd the Gift of *Prophecy* to the miraculous Gift of *Tongues*, on Account of its greater Service in the Church.

Follow, saith he, after Charity and desire Spiritual Gifts, but rather that ye may Prophecy, † 1 Cor. 14.
for he that speaketh in an unknown Tongue, speaketh
not unto Men but unto God: For no Man under-
standeth him, howbeit in the Spirit he speaketh Myste-
ries,
 Q 2

* Prophecy, says M. Poole (on 1 Cor. xii. 10.) in the General signifieth the Revelation of the Will of God, whether by the Foretelling future Contingencies, or opening the Scriptures by Preaching or Teaching.

† Desire *Spiritual Gifts*, but rather that ye may *Prophefie*. Pool's Annot. But rather or principally, that you may be able to Reveal the Mind and Will of God unto others. Some think by foretelling Things to come; but this is not very probable; such an Ability of Prophefying being given but to very few under the New-Testament: It is therefore more probable, that he speaketh of an Ability to open the Scriptures, either by immediate Revelation (as to which they could use no Means but Prayer and an Holy Life) or by ordinary Meditation and Study of *Scriptures*. For tho' the former Species of Prophefying, by Prediction of future Things, when the Truth of it was justified by such Prophecies Accomplishment, was of great Use to confirm the Doctrine of the Gospel; yet the Latter was of greater and more general Use for the Good of others, which makes the Apostle put them upon the Coveting and earnest Desire of that Faculty or Ability; because of all others, it made them most eminently and generally useful to others, as well those within the Church as those without; and thus the Apostle expoundeth himself, ver. 3.

ries. But he that Prophefieth, speaketh unto Men to Edification, and Exhortation and Comfort. He that speaketh in an unknown Tongue, edifieth himself, but he that Prophefieth, edifieth the Church, I would that ye all spake with Tongues, but rather that ye Prophefied; for greater is he that Prophefieth, than he that speaketh with Tongues, except he interpret, that the Church may receive Edifying. Now Brethren, if I come unto you speaking with Tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by Revelation, or by Knowledge, or by Prophecy, or by Doctrine.

THESE Words shew how much the Apostle prefer'd *Prophecy* even above the miraculous Gift of Tongues, and tho' he desir'd that *All the Corinthians* might speak with Tongues, yet rather that they *prophefied*. Now this *Prophefying* which the Apostle recommended as the most desirable of all spiritual Gifts, was *Preaching* by the immediate Influence and Moving of the Holy Spirit, for it was a Gift of the Spirit,* and according to his own Explication, it was speaking to the *Edificati-*

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* That *Prophecy* was a Gift of the Spirit plainly appears from these Words of the Apostle 1 Cor. xii 8. For to One is given by the Spirit, the Word of Wisdom; to another the Word of Knowledge by the same Spirit; to another Faith by the same Spirit; to another the Gift of Healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of Miracles, to another PROPHECY, to another the discerning of Spirits; to another divers Kinds of Tongues; to another the Interpretation of Tongues: But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every Man severally as he will.

Upon these Words of the Apostle, the sagacious John Lock remarks. 'Prophecy comprehends these three Things, Pre-
'diction, Singing by the Dictate of the Spirit, and under-
'standing and explaining the mysterious hidden Sense of
'Scripture, by an immediate Illumination and Motion of the
'Spirit.

on, *Exhortation* and *Comfort* of the Hearers, and what better Definition can any give of *Preaching*?

AND since the Apostle declar'd to the *Corinthians*, that he would they might *All* speak with Tongues, but rather that they *Prophesied*, it necessarily follows that he desir'd they might all *Preach* or speak to *Edification*, *Exhortation* and *Comfort*. Now the Word *All*, takes in the whole Church he was writing to, and we believe it will be readily granted that there were *Women* in that Church as well as *Men*, from hence we infer, the Apostle desir'd that the *Women* might *Prophecy* or *Preach* as well as the *Men*. And,

THAT there were *Women* in the Church of *Corinth*, that did both pray and *prophecy*, we prove from these Words of the Apostle. *Every Man praying and prophesying having his Head cover'd, dishonoureth his Head. Every Woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her Head uncover'd, dishonoureth her Head, for that is all one as if she were shaven.* The Notice which the Apostle here takes of the *Man's* praying or prophesying with his Head cover'd; and the *Woman's* with her Head uncover'd, does plainly bespeak that those Actions were perform'd in *Publick*; and whatever the Actions of *Praying* and *Prophesying* signifie, they must have the same Meaning when apply'd to the *Woman* as to the *Man*: But we have shewn from

Q 3 the

* *Pool's Annotations.* ' Tho' the *Women* 1 Tim. 2. 12. be forbidden to *Teach*, and commanded to be in *Silence*; yet that Text must be understood of *ordinary Women*, and in *ordinary Cases*, not concerning such as *propheied* from an *Extraordinary Impulse or Motion of the Spirit*. We read of *Women* *Prophets* both in the Old and New Testament, such was *Huldah* in *Josiah's* Time, and *Anna*, of whom we read *Luke* 2. 36. and we read that *Philip* had *Four Daughters that did prophesie.* Acts 21. 9.

the Apostle's own Words, that the Action of Propheſying was *Preaching*, or which is all one, ſpeaking to Men to *Edification*, *Exhortation* and *Comfort*, it therefore neceſſarily follows, that *Women* perform'd the Actions of Praying and Preaching in *Publick* as well as the Men. But,

STILL to make this more evidently appear, we ſhall give the Reader the Notes of *John Lock*, who has ſhown great Sagacity and Impartiality in his Expoſition of thoſe Words of the Apoſtle.

‘ THIS about *Women* ſeeming as difficult a Paſſage as moſt in St. *Paul's* Epistles, I crave Leave to preſent ſome few Conſiderations which I hope may conduce to the clearing of it.

‘ 1. It is to be obſerved, that it was the Cuſtom for *Women* who appeared in Publick, to be vailed Ver. 13 — 16. Therefore it could be no Queſtion at all, whether they ought to be vailed when they aſſiſted at the Prayers and Praises in the publick Aſſemblies ; or if that were the Thing intended by the Apoſtle, it had been much eaſier, ſhorter and plainer for him to have ſaid, that *Women* ſhould be cover'd in the Aſſemblies.

‘ 2. It is plain that this covering the Head in *Women*, is reſtrained to ſome particular Actions which they performed in the Aſſembly, expreſſed by the Words, *Praying* and *Propheſying* verſ. 4, and 5. which, whatever they ſignify muſt have the ſame Meaning, when applied to the *Women* in the 5th Verſe, that they have when applied to the Men in the 4th Verſe.

‘ It will poſſibly be objected, if *Women* were to be vailed in the Aſſemblies, let thoſe Actions be what they will, the *Women* joining in them were ſtill to be vailed.

‘ ANSW. This would be plainly so, if their Interpretation were to be followed, who are of Opinion, that by *praying* and *prophefying* here, was meant to be present in the Assembly, and joining with the Congregation in the Prayers that were made, or Hymns that were sung, or in hearing the Reading and Exposition of the Holy Scriptures there. But against this, that the Hearing of Preaching or Prophefying, was never call'd *Preaching* or *Prophefying*, is so unanswerable an Objection, that I think there can be no Reply to it.

‘ THE Case in short seems to be this : The Men prayed and prophefied in the Assemblies, and did it with their Heads uncovered : The WOMEN *also sometimes prayed and prophefied too in the ASSEMBLIES*, which when they did, they thought, during their performing that Action, they were excused from being veiled, and might be bare-headed, or at least open-faced, as well as the Men. This was that which the Apostle restrains in them, and directs, that tho' they pray'd or prophefied, they were still to remain veiled.

‘ 3. THE next Thing to be consider'd, is, what is here to be understood by *Praying* and *Prophefying*. And that seems to me to be the performing of some particular *publick Action* in the *Assembly* by some one Person, which was for *that Time* peculiar to that Person, and whilst it lasted the rest of the *Assembly* *silently* assisted. For it cannot be supposed, that when the Apostle says, a Man praying or prophefying, that he means an Action performed in *Common* by the whole Congregation ; or if he did, what Pretence could that give the *Woman* to be unveiled more during the Performance of such an Action, than at any other Time? A *Woman*

' must be veiled in the *Assembly*, what Pretence
 ' then or Claim could it give her to be unveiled,
 ' that she join'd with the rest of the *Assembly*, in
 ' the Prayer that some one Person made? Such a
 ' Praying as this could give no more Ground for
 ' her being unveiled, than her being in the *Assem-*
 ' *bly* could be thought a Reason for her being un-
 ' veiled. The same may be said of *Prophecyng*,
 ' when understood to signify a *Woman's* joining
 ' with the Congregation in singing the Praises of
 ' God. But if the *Woman* prayed as the *Mouth*
 ' of the *Assembly*, &c. then it was like she might
 ' think she might have the Privilege to be un-
 ' veiled.

' PRAYING and PROPHESYNG, as has been
 ' shewn, signifying here the doing some peculiar
 ' Action in the *Assembly*, whilst the rest of the
 ' Congregation only assisted, let us in the next
 ' Place examine what that Action was. As to
 ' *Prophecyng*, the Apostle in *express Words* tell us,
 ' *Ch. xiv. 3.* and *12.* that it was *speaking* in the *As-*
 ' *sembly*. The same is evident as to *Praying*, that
 ' the Apostle means by it *praying publickly*, with
 ' an *audible Voice* in the *Congregation*. vid. *Ch. 14.*
 ' 14 — 19.

' 4. IT is to be observed, that whether any one
 ' pray'd or prophesy'd, they did it alone, *the*
 ' *Rest remaining silent*, *Ch. xiv. 27—33.* So that
 ' even in these extraordinary Praises which any
 ' one sung to God by the *Immediate Motion and*
 ' *Impulse* of the HOLY GHOST, which was one of
 ' the Actions called *Prophecyng*, they sung alone.
 ' And indeed how could it be otherwise? For
 ' who could join with the Person so prophesying
 ' in Things dictated to him alone by the *Holy*
 ' *Ghost*, which the others could not know; till
 ' the Person prophesying uttered them?

‘ 5. PROPHESYING, as St. *Paul* tells us, ch. xiv.
 ‘ 3. was speaking unto others to *Edification, Ex-*
 ‘ *hortation* and *Comfort*: But every speaking to
 ‘ others to any of those Ends was not Prophe-
 ‘ sying, but only then when such Speaking was a
 ‘ *Spiritual Gift*, perform’d by the Immediate and
 ‘ Extraordinary Motion of the Holy Ghost, vid.
 ‘ ch. xiv. 1, 12, 24, 30. For Example, singing
 ‘ Praises to God was call’d *prophefying*; but we
 ‘ see when *Saul* prophesied, the Spirit of God fell
 ‘ upon him, and he was turn’d into another Man
 ‘ 1 *Sam.* x. 6. Nor do I think any Place in the
 ‘ New-Testament can be produced wherein *Pro-*
 ‘ *phesying* signifies bare Reading of the Scripture,
 ‘ or any other Action performed without a *Sup-*
 ‘ *ernatural Impulse* and *Assistance* of the Spirit of
 ‘ God. This we are sure, that the *Prophefying*
 ‘ which St. *Paul* here speaks of, is one of the ex-
 ‘ traordinary Gifts given by the Spirit of God,
 ‘ vid. ch. xii. 10. Now that the Spirit of God, and
 ‘ the GIFT of *Prophefie* should be poured out upon
 ‘ WOMEN as well as Men in the Time of the
 ‘ Gospel, is plain from *Acts* ii. 17. And then
 ‘ where could be a *fitter Place* for them to utter
 ‘ their *Prophefies* in than the *Assemblies*?

BUT against the Practice of WOMEN’S Praying and Preaching in the *publick Assemblies*, some object these Words of the Apostle, *Let your Women keep Silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded* 1 Cor. 14. *to be under Obedience: as also saith the Law. And* 34. *if they will learn any Thing let them ask their Husbands at Home, for it is a Shame for Women to speak in the Church.* Here say they, the Apostle forbids *Women* to Preach, and says, ’tis a Shame for them to speak in the Church.

BUT to this we answer : Had the Apostle's Words been, Let your *Women* keep Silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to *propheſie* ; or it is a Shame for Women to *propheſie* in the Church, we ſhould have thought then that the *Women* had been forbid to *preach* : But, the Apoſtle having but a little before directed, that when a *Woman* pray'd or propheſy'd, ſhe ſhould have her Head cover'd, ſhows plainly that he allow'd of *Women's* praying and propheſying in the Church, provided they did it with their Heads cover'd : And we have ſhewn before that there were *Women* at the Time of Pentecoſt, on whom the Spirit was pour'd, and it appears by the Context that they ſpoke in that firſt Aſſembly or Church ; for 'tis ſaid, they were *All* filled with the *Holy Ghoſt*, and *ſpake as the Spirit gave them Utterance*. Therefore we think the Apoſtle could not by the Words above objected, intend to hinder *Women* from ſpeaking in the Church who were indued with the Gift of *Propheſy*, for then he would have been inconfiſtent with himſelf, who had in the ſame Epiſtle expreſs'd his Deſire that *All* might *propheſy*, and directed in what Manner a *Woman* as well as a Man ſhould propheſy.

THEY therefore, who ſay the Apoſtle by the Words above objected, has forbid All Women to Speak or Propheſy in the Church, muſt allow the Speaking in that Place, to be reſtricted to ſome other Meaning than bare *Speaking*, or they will make the Apoſtle to contradict himſelf, who has defin'd *Propheſy* to be ſpeaking to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort, and deſir'd that all the Church of *Corinth* might ſpeak with Tongues, but rather that they *propheſy'd*.

Now,

Now, if by the Original Word λαλεῖν * to speak, be understood unnecessary and inconsiderate *Speaking* (and the Word is most commonly us'd in that Sense by Greek Authors) then may the latter Words of the Apostle be very well reconcil'd with the former. And indeed the Context it self shews plain enough that it was unnecessary and inconsiderate

* Λαλεῖν to speak, saith Leigh in his *Criticæ Sacrae*, is vulgarly taken in the bad Part, and signifies, *Temerè & inconsideratè verba fundere & effutire*, Rashly and inconsiderately to pour out Words which had been better kept in. And in this Sense *Constantine* and *Scapula*, Authors of the two best Greek Lexicons, have explained the Word λαλεῖν. * They say 'tis commonly and for the most Part taken for Rash and Inconsiderate Speaking, without any Manner of Choice or Discretion. And is not asking of Questions in the Church in Time of Divine Worship, to speak inconsiderately and without Discretion, and the very Thing which the Apostle said was a Shame to Women?

Do those who condemn the *Quakers* for letting *Women* preach in their Meetings, and yet permit *Women* to make Responses in their Churches, and sing the Psalms of *David* in Metre, take the Apostle to have forbid all Manner of Speaking in *Women*? Is the Apostle's Injunction, *Let your Women keep Silence in the Churches*, better observ'd by *Women* who when ever they come to Church, sing out aloud Words ready prepar'd to their Hands, than by *Women* who only sing Praises to God as they find themselves influenced and mov'd by the Holy Spirit? And is not the often repeating other Men's Lines in the Church, by *Women* who know not their Meaning, or never truly experienced the Sense of them, as much forbid by the Apostle as *Women's* speaking only what they have experienced, and what immediately arises in their Minds from the Influence of the Love and Goodness of God?

* *Lexicon Constantini*, λαλέω, loquor, sæpè in malam partem accipitur, ut, sit temerè & inconsideratè, citràque deletum aliquem verba effutire: cui opponitur διαλέγομαι & λέγω. Unde celebratum illud *Eupolidis* apud *Gellium*, λαλεῖν ἀριστος, εὐδυνατὸς τὰτος λέγειν, id est, ad garriendum præcipuus & optimus, verùm ad loquendum nemo minus idoneus,

derate Speaking that the Apostle design'd to prohibit, for says he, *if they will learn any Thing let them ask their Husbands at Home.* It is evident by this, that it was not Preaching or Prophefying in the Church which the Apostle said was a Shame to *Women*, but an inquisitive and troublesome Speaking in Time of Worship. We therefore are of Opinion, that the Apostle's reprehending and enjoining such Women to keep silence in the Churches, is no more a forbidding WOMEN indu'd with the Gift of *Prophecy*, to exercise that Gift in the Church, than his reprehending the *Men* for an unnecessary and indiscreet Use of the Gift of Tongues, is a forbidding them to exercise that Gift: For 'tis plain the Aim of the Apostle was, that all Things might be done orderly and without Confusion in the Church, and with such Counsel and Advice he closes that Part of his Epistle, wherein he sets forth the Design and Use of spiritual Gifts, saying, *Wherefore, Brethren, covet to Prophecy, and forbid not to speak with Tongues. Let all Things be done decently and in Order.*

1 Cor. 14.
39.

IN this Sense Theophilaet a Bishop of the Greek Church, took these Words of the Apostle. v. 34: *Let your Women keep Silence in the Church, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but to be under Obedience, as also saith the Law* * 'The Apostle, ' says

* Επειδὴ πάντα καλῶς διατάξατο, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἵνα μὴ πολλοὶ προφητεύωσι, καὶ σύγχυσις καὶ ἀκαταστασία ἐκ τούτων εἴη. νῦν καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξουσίαν κατατέλλει, καὶ φησιν ὅτι σιγάτωσαν. &c. Επειδὴ ἐκεῖνα ἴσως ἐνεκαλλωπίζοντο ταῖς δῆθεν πνευματικαῖς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμιλίαις, αὐτὸς τὸναντίον φησὶν, ὅτι ἀδοξία ἐστὶν αὐταῖς καὶ αἰσχυνή τούτο. Theoph. Comment.

These Words of Theophilaet plainly show that he took the Apostle's Injunction to Silence, to belong to Women that made a Tumult

‘ says he, having order’d that all Things should
 ‘ be done decently, as well about the Speaking
 ‘ with Tongues as Prophefying, that many
 ‘ should not prophesie together and thereby
 ‘ beget Confusion and Disorder, he then ap-
 ‘ peases the *Tumult* of the Women, saying, *Let*
 ‘ *the Women keep Silence in the Church, and if they*
 ‘ *will learn any Thing, let them ask their Husbands*
 ‘ *at Home: For ’tis a Shame for Women to speak*
 ‘ *in the Church.* For tho’ some of them might
 ‘ think it a becoming Thing in them to hold spi-
 ‘ ritual *Discourses* together in the Church, yet *this*
 ‘ he says was unbecoming and a Shame to them.

In this Sense also the judicious Author before
 cited has taken the Apostle’s Words, ‘ Why,
 ‘ I apply, says *Locke*, this Prohibition of *Speak-*
 ‘ *ing* only to *Reasoning* and purely *voluntary Dis-*
 ‘ *course*, but suppose a Liberty left *Women* to
 ‘ speak, where they had an *immediate Impulse* and
 ‘ *Revelation* from the Spirit of God, vid. ch. xi.
 ‘ 3. In the Synagogue it was usual for any Man,
 ‘ that had a Mind, to demand of the Teacher a
 ‘ farther Explication of what he said: But this
 ‘ was not permitted to the *Women*.

Now, as we take both *Theophilaet* and *John*
Locke, to have given the right and true Sense and
 Meaning of the Apostle’s Words, whereby it ap-
 pears, it was only voluntary Discourse and asking
 Questions in the Church, which the Apostle for-
 bid the Women, so is it also agreeable with the
 Order and Practice of the People call’d *Quakers*,
 who allow not their *Women* to hold Discourse and
 ask Questions in their Meetings for Worship, but
 require

Tumult (ῥόρυβον) in the Church; and that the Word λαλῆν
 ought to be taken in this Place for unnecessary and inconsiderate
 Speaking, which is very apt to beget a Tumult and Disturbance
 in a Publick Assembly.

require that all be silent and not speak in the Assembly, till God is pleas'd by his Spirit to influence and move upon the Heart of any one to Pray or Preach in the Congregation.

We think therefore, that for any to assert that the Apostle *Paul* has forbid *Women* to Pray or Preach in the Congregation or Church, or to declare what is immediately reveal'd to them by the *Spirit of God*, is to make him not only contradict himself in one and the same Epistle, but also to oppose and frustrate the very End and Design of God's pouring out of his Spirit upon *Daughters* and *Handmaidens*, as it was prophesied he should in the *Latter Days*. For to what Purpose should *Women* have the Gift of Prophecy, if they were always to keep Silence in the Churches, and never to exercise their Gift? And, as *J. Locke* has well observ'd, *where could be a fitter Place for them to utter their Prophecies in than the Assemblies?*

CAN it be reasonably thought, that the Apostle would himself have forbidden the four Daughters of *Philip* * to have utter'd their *Prophecies* in the Church?

* *Pool* in his *Annotations* on these Words, *Let your Women keep Silence in the Churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak, &c.* says, This Rule must be restrained to ordinary *Prophecys*: For certainly, if the *Spirit of Prophecy* came upon a *Woman* in the Church; she might speak. *Anna*, who was a Prophetess in the Temple, gave Thanks to the Lord, and spake of him to all them that looked for Redemption in Israel: And I cannot tell how *Philip's Daughters* prophesied, if they did not speak in the Presence of Many. Acts xxi. 9.

* *Grotius* (on 1 Cor. xi. 5.) says, In the *Old Testament* were Women who were Prophetesses, as *Miriam* the Sister of *Moses*, Exod. xv. 20. *Deborah*, Judg. iv. 4. The Wife of *Isaiah*, Chap. viii. 3. *Huldah*, 2 Kings xxii. 14. So also in the *New Testament*, as the *Daughters of Philip*, Acts xxi. 19. And

Church? Or that by the Words above objected, he intended to enjoin such *Women* to keep Silence in

And others afterward. These us'd to utter holy Prophecies even publickly (*etiam publicè Prophetiis sacras exponere*) as appears from the forecited Places of the Old Testament. Wherefore *Paul's* forbidding *Women* to exercise the Gift of Teaching in Ch. xiv. 34. is to be understood with an Exception, unless they have a special Command of God.

Estius, a Papist, also acknowledges in his Commentaries on 1 Cor. xi. 5. that *Women* did sometimes Prophesey in the Publick Assembly, (*ostendit hic locus Mulieres prophetasse in Conventu publico*) but he is lamentably puzzl'd to reconcile this Place with Ch. xiv. 34. and has several weak and groundless Conjectures about it. And,

One *Tiletanus* of the same Communion, who writ himself *Decanus Bruxellensis*, Dean of *Brussels*, published at *Antwerp* in the Year 1608. a Book intitl'd, *Basilii Seleuciaie in I-saurii Episcopi de vitâ ac Miraculis D. THECLAE Virginis Martyris Icontensis Libri duo*, and finding a Passage in this Book where it is said, that *Thecla* converted *Tryphena* (a Lady of High Rank) and her Family to Christ, by a Sermon which she preached on Faith, he trys hard to reconcile her Teaching with the Apostle's Injunctions 1 Cor. xiv. 34. and 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. For when he had cited the Words of the Apostle, and also these Words of the 4th Council of *Carthage*, *Mulier quamvis docta & sancta viros in Conventu docere non presumat*, that is, Let not a Woman tho' she be Learned and Holy, presume to teach Men in an Assembly, he then endeavour'd to reconcile *Thecla's* Teaching to those Prohibitions in this Manner. There was, says he, so great a Harvest at that Time, especially amongst the *Gentiles*, and the Labourers being but few, or scarcely any, she studied with all her Might to bring those, who by Reason of the Ignorance of former Times had lain in great Darkness, to the Light of the Gospel then just beginning to dawn a little; so that this Fact of *Thecla's* does not oppose the above cited Injunctions of the Apostle; For the Mind of *Paul* is not so to be taken, as if he had forbid all Divine Discourse, and all Manner of Teaching by a Woman, but only that which was in the Church when Men were present, who may and ought to subject the Woman, and so these Words sufficiently declare, Let them be in Subjection, but to whom should they

in the Churches, of whom he writ in these Terms,
 Phil. 4. 3. *I intreat thee, true Yoke-fellow, help those Women*
which

1 Cor. 14. 34. ' they be subject if there were no Men? Likewise these
 ' Words of the Apostle, *If they will learn any Thing, let them*
 ' *ask of their Husbands at Home*; and also these, *Let the Wo-*
 ' *men learn in Silence with all Subjection*; and lastly these, *But*
 1 Tim. ii. ' *I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the*
 11, 12. ' *Man*. From all these Passages we may gather, that *Wo-*
 ' *men* are not to exercise the Gift of Teaching where *Men*
 ' are present, and can supply their Places: Therefore *The-*
 ' *cla* taught, but it was where Men were absent, (*Docuit*
 ' *ergo Thecla; sed ubi viri deessent; docuit non ex Autorita-*
 ' *te; sed ex Charitate; ad hæc docuit, non sumptè impulsu, sed*
 ' *Pauli Instigatione & jussu: docuit denique eo Successu, quem*
 ' *multipli i Infidelium ad Fidem Conversione Deus gratum sibi*
 ' *esse manifestè ostendit*) She taught not by Authority, but
 ' out of Charity: She taught not of her own Motion, but
 ' by the *Instigation* and *Command* of *Paul*, and she taught
 ' with such Success, that she manifestly shew'd *herself* to be
 ' acceptable to God, by the great Number of Infidels which
 ' were converted by her Teaching. * Thus we easily re-
 ' concile what has been said by *Terrullian* and *Epiphanius*,
 ' and the 4th Connfel of *Carthage*, which seem'd otherwise
 ' to be strong against a *Woman's* Teaching. Nor has *Thecla*
 ' only enter'd the *Field* of Teaching, for *Martha* the Teacher
 ' of the People of *Marseilles* did the same; and so did that
 ' *Catharine* who converted fifty Philosophers to the Truth
 ' of the Gospel by her Teaching and Disputing.

We see by this, when God has made Use of *Women* for the
 Conversion of a People to the Light of the Gospel, as he
 has sometimes done, what Conjectures and Shifts learned
 Men are fain to make, to reconcile their Teaching to the
 Words of the Apostle *Paul*, which rightly taken, are no
 Manner of Prohibition to *Women's* exercising their Gift of
 Teaching or Preaching, not only in an *Assembly* where the
 Men are absent, as this Author allows, but also in *Assemblies*
 where Men are present, whenever it shall please God to in-
 fluence

* Atque hoc pacto facile etiam conciliamus Terrulliani, Epiphanii, & Concilii Carthaginensis quarti, vim, alioqui ut videbatur, huic rei facientes Sententias. Neque verò soli *Thecla* hunc docendi Campum ingressa est: fecit & *Martha* Massiliensium Magistra: fecit *Catherina*, quinquaginta Philosophis docendo disputandoque ad Evangelicam Veritatem adductis.

which labour'd with me in the Gospel, whose Names are in the Book of Life. ' Take Notice here, says ' Theophilaet, what Virtue he attributes to the ' WOMEN : For that which Christ said to his Apostles, *Your Names are written in Heaven*, ' Paul attributes to them, because their Names ' with the others were written in the Book of ' Life, that is, in the Knowledge and Judgment ' of God.

BUT the Objectors to Women's Preaching, bring another Text of Scripture, which they say prohibits Women from Preaching and Teaching in the Church, and that is this ; *Let the Woman learn in Silence with all Subjection : But I suffer not a Woman to teach, nor to usurp Authority over the Man, but to be in Silence.* 1 Tim. 2.
11. 12.

Now, upon this we observe that the Words of the Apostle, *I suffer not a Woman to Teach*, are immediately follow'd with, *Nor usurp Authority over the Man*, which plainly shows, that the Prohibition

fluence them by his Spirit : For in Scripture we find no such Distinction, but the Promise of the Holy Spirit is made to *Daughters* as well as *Sons*, to *Handmaidens* as well as *Servants*. And Paul himself has said, *There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither Bond nor Free, there is neither MALE nor FEMALE, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.* Gal. iii. 28.

And, for this Learned Author to say that *Thecla* did not teach by *Authority*, but by the *Instigation* and *Command* of Paul, we think is exceeding weak, For was not the *Instigation* and *Command* of Paul as good an *Authority*, as any Bishop's *Ordination* who may pretend to be *Peter's* Successor. But if what he seems to believe were really true, (tho' in our Opinion his Book has too much of the Legend) that *Thecla* did convert so great a Number of Infidels to the Faith of Christ, we rather allow that she did it by the *Instigation* and *Power* of the *Holy Ghost*, which we take to be the greatest *Authority* any Man or Woman can have to *Preach the Gospel*.

See 1 Cor.
ch. 12.

hibition related to Women who usurp'd Authority over the Man, and had not learnt that due Subjection which became their Sex ; consequently were very unfit to Teach and Instruct others. But in our Apprehension, this no Ways affects *Women* who have receiv'd the Gift of Teaching from the Influence of the Holy Spirit, (for *Teaching* as well as *Prophefying*, is a Gift of the Spirit) and in the Exercise of it behave with Decency, Modesty and Submission. In this Manner has the judicious *Locke* expounded the seeming Prohibitions of Women's Speaking and Teaching in the Church, For, in the first Part of his Notes aforecited, having shown that Praying and Prophefying were Actions which Women publicly perform'd in the Church of *Corinth*, and that it was a Privilege they were to enjoy under the Gospel, he then says,

‘ St. *Paul*'s forbidding *Women* to speak in the
 ‘ Assemblies, will probably seem a strong Ar-
 ‘ gument against this : But when well considered
 ‘ will perhaps prove none. There be two Pla-
 ‘ ces wherein the Apostle forbids *Women* to speak
 ‘ in the Church, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 34, 35. and 1 *Tim.* ii.
 ‘ 11, 12. He that shall attentively compare these
 ‘ together, may observe that the Silence injoin'd
 ‘ the *Woman*, is for a Mark of their Subjection to
 ‘ the Male Sex : And therefore what in the One
 ‘ is express'd by *keeping Silence, and not speaking,*
 ‘ *but being under Obedience,* in the other is called,
 ‘ *being in Silence with all Subjection, not teaching,*
 ‘ *nor usurping Authority over the Man.* The *Wo-*
 ‘ *men* in the Churches were not to assume the
 ‘ Personage of Doctors, or speak there as Teach-
 ‘ ers ; this carried with it the Appearance of Su-
 ‘ periority, and was forbidden ; nay, they were
 ‘ not so much as to ask Questions there, or to
 ‘ enter into any sort of *Conference*. This shews a
 Kind

Kind of Equality, and was also forbidden : But yet, tho' they were not to speak in the Church *in their own Names*, or as if they were raised by the Franchises of Christianity, to such an Equality with the Men, that where *Knowledge* or *Presumption* of their own Abilities emboldned them to it, they might take upon them to be Teachers and Instructors of the Congregation, or might at least enter into *Questionings* and *Debates* there. This would have had too great an Air of standing upon even Ground with the Men, and would not have well comported with the Subordination of the Sex. But yet this Subordination, which God for Orders sake had instituted in the World, hinder'd not, but that by the Supernatural Gifts of the Spirit, he might make Use of the *weaker Sex*, to any extraordinary Function when-ever he thought fit, as well as he did of the Men. But yet, when they thus either *Pray'd* or *Prophecy'd* by the Motion and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, Care was taken that whilst they were *obeying God*, who was pleas'd by *his Spirit* to set them a *speaking*, the *Subjection* of their Sex should not be forgotten, but owned and preserved by their being cover'd. The Christian Religion was not to give Offence by any Appearance or Suspicion that it took away the Subordination of the Sexes, and set the Women at Liberty from their natural Subjection to the Man. And therefore we see that in both these Cases, the Aim was to maintain and secure the confessed Superiority and Dominion of the Man, and not permit it to be invaded so much as in Appearance. Hence the Arguments in the one Case for *Covering*, and in the other for *Silence*, are all drawn from the natural Superiority of the Man, and the Subjection of the Woman. In the one

' the *Woman*, without an extraordinary Call, was
 ' to keep silent, as a Mark of her Subjection: In
 ' the other, where she was to *Speak* by an extra-
 ' ordinary *Call* and *Commission* from God, she
 ' was yet to continue the Profession of her Sub-
 ' jection in keeping her self covered. Here by
 ' the Way it is to be observed, that there was ex-
 ' traordinary *praying* to God *by the Impulse of the*
 ' *Spirit*, as well as *Speaking* unto Men for their
 ' Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: Vid.
 ' Ch: xiv. 15. Rom. viii. 26. Jude ver. 20.

THIS Exposition of *Locke's*, we see has perfectly reconcil'd the Words of the Apostle, and shows plainly that no Prohibition lies in Scripture against Women's Speaking in the Churches, when they are influenced and mov'd thereto by the Spirit of God, provided they observe, whenever they speak in the Assembly, a Decorum suitable, and becoming their Sex. And,

THE Holy Scriptures inform us, that there were *Women* who labour'd with the Apostle *Paul* in the Propagation of the Gospel. *I commend un-*
 Rom. 16.1 *to you, says Paul to the Romans, Phebe our Sister, which is a Servant of the Church which is at Cenchrea. Tho' our Translators were pleas'd to call Phebe only a Servant* of the Church, yet the Apostle calls*

* The Word *διάκονος* occurs so frequently in *Paul's* Epistles, and is so often us'd by him for a *Minister* of the Gospel, that we know not what could make our Translators call *Phebe* a Servant and not a *Minister* of the Church in *Cenchrea*, unless the common Prejudice imbib'd by most Professors of Christianity, That no Woman can be a *Minister* in the Church of Christ.

The Apostle calls *Timothy* *διάκονος τῷ θεῷ* a Minister of God, 1 Thes. 3. 2. *Τιμόθεον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καὶ διάκονον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ, Timothy our*

calls her *Minister* of the Church in *Cenchrea*, (Διάκονον τῆ ἐκκλησίας τῆ ἐν Κένχρεαῖς) and in divers other Places of Scripture they have translated the same ^{See 1 Thef.} Word, *Minister*, as when *Paul* calls himself ^{3. 2.} *Διάκονος*, *Minister*, and *Timothy* and *Apollos* and ^{1 Cor. 3. 5. &c.} others.

AND several of the Ancient Greek Fathers say she was a *Minister* of great Renown. *Theodore* who lived about Three Hundred Years after the Apostles, says, ‘That the Fame of *Phebe* was spread throughout the World, and that she was known not only to the *Romans* and *Greeks*, but also to the *Barbarians*. And *Theophilact* says, ‘† Because this Matron brought this Epistle to the *Romans*, therefore the Apostle com-
R 3 ‘ mends

our Brother, and Minister of God, and our Fellow-Labourer in the Gospel of Christ, Here we observe that *Paul* gives the same Epithets to *Timothy* as he does to *Phebe* and *Priscilla*: He calls *Timothy* *Διάκονος* Minister, and so he does *Phebe*. He calls *Timothy* *συνεργός* Fellow-Labourer and *Priscilla* and *Aquila* *συνεργούς* Fellow-Labourers, tho’ in the common Translation ’tis *Helpers*.

Himself and *Apollos* he calls *Διάκονοι* Ministers, 1 Cor. 3, 5. Who then is *Paul*? and who is *Apollos*? but Ministers by whom ye believed. And 2 Cor. 11. 15. Are they Ministers of Christ, *Διάκονοι* χριστοῦ, I am more. And the very same Epithet he gives also to Christ, *Rom.* 15. 8. λεγὼ ὅτι Ἰησοῦν χριστὸν διάκονον γενεῆς καὶ περιτομῆς. Now I say that Jesus Christ was a Minister of the Circumcision.

* *Theodore* ii. In universa Terra celebris Mulier facta est; nec eam soli Romani & Græci cognoverunt, sed etiam Barbari omnes.

† *Theophilact* i. Επειδὴ αὐτὴν διάκομιζουσα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, συνιστᾷ αὐτὴν αὐτοῖς. σεμνύνει δὲ τὴν αὐτήν, καὶ διὰ τῆ πρώτης μνησθῆναι, καὶ διὰ τῆ ἀδελφὴν ὀνομάσαι (ὁ μέγα ἀξίωμα) καὶ διὰ τῆ διάκονον ὕσαν δεῖξαι. Quia hæc matrona epistolam hanc adferebat, ideo eam commendat iplis. Peculiari autem hanc honore afficit, & quod primo loco mentionem ejus facit, & per hoc quod *Sororem* appellat, (quæ ingens sanè est dignitas) & per hoc quod ostendit eam *ministrum* fuisse.

‘ mends her to them in the first Place, and by
 ‘ calling her SISTER, (which truly is a high Ti-
 ‘ tle) he shows that she was a MINISTER.

PRISCILLA also was an eminent *Teacher*, as ap-
 pears by what is said of her in the Acts of the
 Apostles, *Aquila and Priscilla took unto them Apol-
 los, an eloquent Man, and mighty in the Scriptures,
 and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.*
 And *Paul* greets her before her Husband, as a
 Minister or one that had been assisting to Him in
 the Propagation of the Gospel. Greet Priscilla
 and Aquila my Helpers in Christ Jesus, that is as
Theophilaet expounds it, * ‘ They Help’d me, says
 ‘ the Apostle, in WORD and DOCTRINE,
 ‘ and they were Partakers with me in my Labours
 ‘ and Perils.

THERE was also *Junia*, whom the Apostle
 joins with *Andronicus* in his Salutation as a Person
 of great Note. *Salute, says he, Andronicus and
 Junia my Kinsmen, (Kinsfolks it should have been
 translated) and my Fellow-Prisoners, who are of
 Note among the Apostles, who also were in Christ
 before me* ** ‘ It was a great Thing, says *Theo-
 philaet*, that they were Apostles, especially
 ‘ since *Junia* was a Woman, but it was much
 ‘ more that they were of Note among the Apostles.
 Here we see *Theophilaet* takes *Junia* to have been
 an Apostle, then no Doubt, she was a very emi-
 nent MINISTER among the Apostles.

THIS

* συνήργησάν μοί, φησιν, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ
 καὶ πόνοι καὶ κινδύνων ἐγένετο. τὸ κοινωνοί. Mihi inquit, coope-
 rati sunt in verbo & in doctrina, laborumque & periculorum
 facti sunt participes.

** καὶ τὸ ἀποστόλο εἶναι μέγα καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα ἦσαν
 τὴν Ἰουλίαν. τὸ δὲ ἐπισήμοις, πολλῶ μάλλον. Porro, mag-
 num est quod apostoli nec, præsertim cum *Junia* sit mulier.
 Multo vero majus est, quod insignes sint.

THE Apostle also makes honourable Mention of *Tryphena* and *Tryphosa*, and the beloved *Perfis*. *Salute, says he, Tryphena and Tryphosa, who* ver. 12. *Labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Perfis, which laboured much in the Lord.* Now to show that these were WOMEN of great *Esteem* for their Service and Ministry in the Church, we have, besides *Theophilact*, the Authority of *Chrysostom*, who liv'd much nearer the Apostles Times, about the fourth Century. In his *Homily* on the 16th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, he has, with great Penetration and moving Eloquence, discanted on the several Characters given the Persons in the Apostle's Salutations of them.

' *I commend unto you Phebe our Sister, who is a* Ch. 16. 1. *Minister of the Church at Cenchrea.* Behold, ' says *Chrysostom*, how much he honours her; ' For he remembers her before all the Rest, and ' calls her SISTER. 'Tis not a Thing of small ' Moment to be call'd the *Sister of Paul*. He ' adds also a *Dignity* to her in calling her MINI- ' STER.

' *That ye receive her in the Lord as becometh* ver. 2. *Saints:* You ought on two Accounts to take ' particular Care of her: First, on the *Lord's* Ac- ' count, and Secondly, because she is *Holy*. A- ' gain he sounds her Praise, *For she hath been a* ' *Succourer of many, and of my Self also.* How ' *Blessed* must she have been to have so much spok- ' en in her Praise by PAUL? Let us therefore both ' Men and Women imitate this *Holy Person*, and ' *She* also who is in the next Salutation join'd with ' her Husband.

' *Salute Priscilla and Aquila my Helpers in* ver. 3. *Christ Jesus.* *Luke* also gives Testimony to ' the Virtue of these when he says, PAUL abode ' with them: For by their Occupation they were

Acts 18.
3—26.

‘ Tent-makers, and to the WOMAN, when he
‘ tells how Priscilla took Apollos and expounded
‘ unto him the Way of God more perfectly. These
‘ indeed are great Things, but what Paul says is
‘ much greater.

‘ First, he calls them *Fellow-Ministers* * (συλλειτουργούς) setting forth how much they partook
‘ with him in his inexpressible Labours and Jeopardies, and then adds, *who have for my Life*
‘ *laid down their Necks, unto whom not only I give*
‘ *Thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles.*
‘ Hereby he signifies their *Hospitality* and their
‘ charitable Assistance, and praises them for being ready to lay down their Lives, and all their
‘ Substance in common. Behold these Noble
‘ WOMEN, who could not be hinder’d in their
‘ Pursuit of Virtue by the Frailty of their Sex ;
‘ and truly *worthy* indeed ; for in *Christ Jesus* there
‘ is neither MALE nor FEMALE.

‘ AND what Paul said of *Ibabe*, the same he
‘ says of *Priscilla*, that *she succour’d many and my*
‘ *self also, unto whom not only I give Thanks, but*
‘ *also all the Churches of the Gentiles.* And so
‘ good and generous were they, that they made
‘ their House a Church : Either it was for any of
‘ the Faithful ; or it was open to Strangers : Nor
‘ is he us’d to call *Houses* barely Churches, unless
‘ there was great Piety, and much of the Fear of
‘ God abiding in them. Wherefore to the *Corinthians*

* μεγάλη μέν γὰρ καὶ κείνα. πολλῶ δὲ μείζονα ἔφησι Παῦλος. τί γὰρ ῥησί ; πρῶτον συλλειτουργοὺς αὐτοὺς καλεῖ, τῶν ἀγῶντων πλὴν καὶ τῶν κινδυνῶν δεικνύς αὐτοὺς κοινωνοὺς. Magna quidem & ista sunt, verum multo majora sunt quae Paulus dicit. Quid dicit ? Primum Cooperarios suos vocat, ostendens illos in laboribus illis & periculis ineffabilibus communicare secum :

' *rintbians* he says, *Salute Aquila and Priscilla with*
 ' *the Church that is in their House.* And writing in
 ' *Behalf of Onesimus,* he says, *Paul a Prisoner of Je-*
 ' *sus Christ and Timothy our Brother, unto Phile-*
 ' *mon our dearly Beloved and Fellow-Labourer,*
 ' *and to our beloved Apphia, and to the Church in*
 ' *thy House.* He was one it may be who was
 ' marry'd, *Generous* and of good *Repute*; so were
 ' these marry'd and of great *Repute*, tho' their
 ' Trade was not of *Repute*, for they were *Tent-*
 ' *makers*: But their *Piety* and *Virtue* hid all that,
 ' and made them shine brighter than the *Sun*; so
 ' that neither the *Meanness* of their Occupation,
 ' nor the marry'd State was any *Hindrance*; but
 ' they *excell'd* in that *true Love* which *Christ* calls
 ' for: *No greater Love, says Christ, hath any Man*
 ' *than that he lay down his Life for his Friend.* They
 ' had also the *Mark* of a *Disciple* of *Christ*, for
 ' they took up the *Cross* and follow'd *Christ*. And
 ' if they did so much for *Paul*, much more would
 ' they have done for *Christ*. Hear this O ye *Rich*
 ' and *Poor*! For if they who work'd for their
 ' Bread and look'd after their Shop, could show
 ' so great *Bounty*, as to succour many Churches,
 ' what Pardon can the *Rich* and the *Despisers* of
 ' the *Poor* expect! These spar'd not their *Lives*
 ' that they might please God, and do'st thou
 ' spare a *little Money*, despising above Measure
 ' thy *Soul*! It may be thou wilt say they were
 ' *Generous* to their *Teacher*, but not to the *Disci-*
 ' *ples*: But this is not said of them: For he says,
 ' the Churches of the *Gentiles* give them Thanks,
 ' tho' they were *Jews*: And so *sincerely* did they
 ' act, that they administred their *Charity* to those
 ' of the *Gentiles* who were converted to the Faith.
 ' Such ought *WOMEN* to be, not with *Embroidered*
 ' *Hair, or Gold, or sumptuous Apparel, but adorn'd* 1 Tim. 2.9.
 ' *with*

' with Good Works. Tell me, what Queen, I
 ' pray, ever shone so *Bright*, or had *that Esteem*
 ' as this *Tent-makers Wife*? She is in the Mouths
 ' of all, not only for ten or twenty Years, but
 ' to the very *Coming of Christ*. And every Body
 ' says *that* of her which is a greater *Ornament* than
 ' a *Royal Diadem* could be: For what could be
 ' greater, nay, what could equal this, *She was*
 ' an Assistant to Paul? *She hazarded her own Life*
 ' to save the *TEACHER of the World*? Take
 ' Notice therefore how many Queens, and great
 ' Ones too, lie in obscure Silence, while this *Tent*
 ' *maker's Wife* is every where spoke of, together
 ' with the *Tent-maker*. And wherever the *Sun* is
 ' seen, there the *Fame* of this *Woman* is carry'd.
 ' The whole *World*, *Persia*, *Scythia*, *Thrace*, and
 ' those who live in the most remote Parts, ad-
 ' mire the Philosophy* (*Heavenly Wisdom*) of
 ' this *Woman* and call her *Blessed*.

*The Au-
 thor uses
 the Term
 φιλοσοφία
 not for na-
 tural Phi-
 losophy, but
 divine or
 Heavenly
 Wisdom.

' WHAT Riches, what Diadems, what Purple
 ' Garments would'st thou not cast away with
 ' Pleasure to have such a *Testimony*? Nor is there
 ' Room for any to say, they went indeed thro'
 ' *Dangers* and bestow'd their *Money* liberally, but
 ' they neglected *Preaching*; * For, for this ve-
 ' ry

* Chrysostomi. οὐδε γὰρ ἔχοι τις ἀνείπειν, ὅτι ἐν κινδύνοις,
 μὲν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι, καὶ ἐν χρήμασι θαψίλει, τῇ κηρύγματος
 ᾧ ἡμέλ' οὐ. καὶ γὰρ συνεργοὺς αὐτοὺς, καὶ συλλειτουργοὺς δια-
 τῆτο καλεῖ. καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνεται γυναῖκα συλλειτουργὸν καλῶν
 τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσκαλλωπίζεται τούτῳ, ὅ-
 γαρ τῇ φύσει προσέχει, ἀλλὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν σεφανοῖ. Ne-
 que enim est quod quis dicat, in periculis quidem illi fuerunt
 & in pecuniis largi, *Prædicationem* verò neglexerunt: nam
 propterea *Cooperatores* & *Coadjuvatores* suos illos vocat. Nec
 veretur vas illud benedictionis *Mulierem Coadjutoricem* suam
 vocare, sed & gloriatur in eo. *Naturam* quippe *Fœminæ*
Sexus non aspicit, sed *Voluntatem* coronat.

ry Cause he calls them his *Fellow-Labourers* and *Fellow-Ministers*. Nor is that *Chosen Vessel* ashamed to call a *WOMAN Fellow-Minister*, but glories in it; for he looks not at the *Nature* of the Sex, but crowns the *Will*.

WHAT can equal the *Glory* of this *Woman*? Where now are your *Riches* which you are so prodigal of? Where the *Ornaments* of your *Faces*? Where is your vain *Glory*? Learn to get the *Ornament* of this *Woman*, not what is about the *Body*; but the *Ornament* of the *Mind*; that which is never put off; that which is not put up in a *Cabinet*; but laid up in *Heaven*. Behold their *Labour* in *Preaching*; * their *Crown* of *Martyrdom*; their *Study* in *useful Things*; their *Affection* to *Paul*, and their ardent *Love* to *Christ*.

Greet *Mary* who bestow'd much *Labour* on us. Again, the *Woman* is crown'd and extoll'd. Again, we *Men* are sham'd, nay, not only sham'd, but provok'd to Good. We are provok'd to Good by having *such Women* amongst us; We are sham'd in that we *Men* should be so behind them. If then we will learn how they are so adorn'd, we may afterwards come up with them. How then are they adorn'd? Hear O *Men* and *Women*! Not with *Eunuchs. *Bracelets* and *Necklaces*, not with *waiting-Men** and *Maids*, not with *Garments* embroider'd with *Gold*, but with the *Labours* and *Pains* they endur'd for the *Truth*. For he says, who bestow'd much *Labour* on *Us*. She did not then
labour

* βλέπε αὐτῶν τὴν περὶ τὸ κήρυγμα πόνον, τὴν ἐν τῷ μαρτυρίῳ σετανον, τὴν ἐν τοῖς χρήμασι φιλοτίμιαν, τὴν περὶ Παῦλον ἀγάπην, τὸ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν φίλτρον. Vide illorum circa Prædicationem Laborem, in Martyrio Coronam, in habitibus honestatis Sudium, Dilectionem erga Paulum, erga Christum Amorem.

- ' labour for *her self* only, nor on the Score of her
 ' own *Virtue* (as many Women do now-adays,
 ' Fasting and lying on the Ground) but for others,
 ' *taking the Way of the Apostles and Evangelists.* *
 ' *Salute Andronicus and Junia my Kinsfolk.*
 ' This seems to be spoken in their Praise, but
 ' what

* οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὃ πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν ποιοῦσι γυναῖκες, κηρύττειν, χαμενῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἑτέρους, ἀποστόλων καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀναδεξάμεναι δρόμους. πῶς οὖν φησί, γυναῖκα ὃ διδασκᾶν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπω; ἢ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ προεδρίας αὐτὴν κωλύων, καὶ τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ βήματι, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας. Non erga seipsam solum, neque erga propriam virtutem; id quod multæ mulieres nunc quoque faciunt, & jejunantes, & humi jacentes, sed & erga alios, Apostolorum & Evangelistarum suscepto Cursu. Quomodo ergo alibi dicit. Mulieri verò docere non permitto? præidentiam quæ sit medio Ecclesiæ illi prohibet, sedemque in Pulpito, non Doctrinæ Verbum.

Chrysostom says, those Women were more fervent in their Zeal than Lions, partaking freely with the Apostles in the Labours of Preaching, they likewise travell'd about with them, and administred to them of other Things, and so did Women follow Christ also, and administred to him of their Substance, and were an Help to the Master. λεόντων γὰρ θερμότεραι αἱ γυναῖκες ἦσαν, διακειμεναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κηρύγματος πόνους. Erant enim Mulieres illæ leonibus ferventiores, participantes & cum Apostolis in Laboribus Prædicationis Gratia subeundis. Unde & simul peregrinabantur cum illis, & reliqua ministrabant: & Christum quoque sequebantur Mulieres, quæ ex sua substantia ministrabant, adjumentoque erant Præceptori.

Behold, says this zealous and good Man, what a deal of Fruit we have gather'd from these Salutations! What Treasures should we have miss'd, if we had not with our utmost Diligence scrutiniz'd into this Part of the Epistle. But let some wise Man come after us, who is more spiritual, and he may penetrate deeper and discover more Pearls.

Vides quomodo non modicum fructum ex Salutationibus istis tulerimus. Vides quantos Thesauros neglecturi fuissetimus, nisi & hanc Epistolæ hujus partem, quantum pro viribus nostris licuit, scrutati essemus? Quod si sapiens quispiam & spiritualis fuerit inventus, is & profundius introspiciet, & plures Margaritas videbit.

what follows is much greater, *And my Fellow-Prisoners.* This is a magnificent Crown, a noble Testimony.

AGAIN he extolls them, *who are of Note amongst the Apostles*, That they were *Apostles* is a great Thing, but consider what a great *Encomium* it is to be of *Note* amongst them. They were of *Note* for their *Labours* and good *Works*. * O wonderful! How great was the *Philosophy* (or Heavenly Wisdom) of that *Woman Junia*, who was thought worthy of the Appellation of *Apostle*.

HE goes on with his *Salutations* to the *WOMEN*, *Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa who labour in the Lord*. Of the former he says they labour'd much for *Us*; of these he says, who still labour. This is no small *Encomium* to have labour'd much, and not only to work, but to *labour*. He also calls *Persis, beloved*, showing by that, that she was greater than these, *Salute*, says he, *the Beloved Persis*: And he testifies much on her *Behalf*, saying, *who labour'd much in the Lord*.

THESE Instances are an evident Proof that *Women* labour'd in the Work of the *Ministry* in the Days of the *Apostles*, and travell'd about with them for the Propagation and Spreading of the Gospel, and also that their Labours were very much approv'd of by the *Apostle Paul*. And if the ninth Verse of the second Chapter of his first Epistle to *Timothy*, had been rightly rendred in our English Translation, we should have had an *Apostolical Direction* or *Injunction* for *Women* to pray

* Βάββαι, πόση τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἡ φιλοσοφία, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀξιοῦσθαι προσηγορίας. Παρὰ, quanta fuit *Mulieris* hujus *Philosophia*, ut & *Apostolica* appellatiōe digna sit habita.

pray in *all Places*, lifting up holy Hands, as well as Men.

i Tim. ii. vers. 8. *I will*, says the Apostle, *that Men pray every where, lifting up holy Hands without Wrath and Doubting.* Vers. 9. *In like Manner also, that Women adorn themselves in modest Apparel, with shamefastness and Sobriety, not with broider'd Hair or Gold, or Pearls, or costly Array.* Ver. 10. *But (which becometh Women professing Godliness) with good Works.*

THIS Translation says nothing of *Women's Praying*, tho' the Original Greek manifestly requires that the Word *pray* should be apply'd likewise to the *Women*, and therefore it ought to have been translated in this Manner.

* Vers. 8. *I will that Men pray every where, lifting up holy Hands without Wrath and Doubting.* Ver. 9. *In like Manner that Women pray, being adorn'd in modest Apparel, with shamefastness and Sobriety, not with broider'd Hair, or Gold, or Pearls, or costly Array.* Ver. 10. *But with good Works, as it becomes Women who profess the Worship of God.*

To prove that the Word *pray* ought in this Manner to have been apply'd to the *Women* in the Translation, we have the *Authorities* of several able and learned Men, and particularly *Chrysostom*, *Oecumenius* and *Theophylact*, who were Greeks, and consequently must know the true Import and Meaning of the Original Greek, better than our English Translators could pretend to do.

CRY-

* i Tim. Ch. ii. ver. 8. Βούλομαι οὖν προσεύχεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, ἐπαιροντας ὅσους χεῖρας ὁρῆς καὶ διαλογισμοῦ Ver. 9. ὅσας ἂν τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν καταβολῇ κοσμίῳ, μετὰ αἰδέους καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς, μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν, ἢ χρυσῷ, ἢ μαργαρίταις, ἢ ἱματισμῷ πολυτελείᾳ. Ver. 10. ἀλλ' ὅς περτι γυναῖκιν ἐταγμενόμεναι θεοσεβίαν) δὲ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν.

CHRYSOSTOM interprets the Apostle's Words thus. * *In like Manner also, I will, says he, that the WOMEN appear before God without Wrath, without Doubting, and have holy Hands.* Vers. 9.

† OECUMENIUS, *In like Manner also the Women, supply, I will that they lift up holy Hands without Wrath and Doubting. But he requires something more of the WOMEN that they clothe themselves decently or modestly.*

* THEOPHILACT interprets the ninth Verse thus. * *In like Manner also the Women, I will, says he, that they lift up holy Hands without Wrath and Doubting:*

** AND Grotius, whose Knowledge in the Style of the Original Greek was, we believe, not inferior to any of our Translators, explains the ninth Verse thus. * *In like Manner I will that Women*
pray

* *Chrysostomi* in 1 Epist. ad Timoth. Cap. 2. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας βέλομαι φησι, θεῷ προσίναί, χωρίς ὀργῆς, χωρίς διαλογισμοῦ, ὅσιους χεῖρας εἶχειν, Similiter, inquit, & Mulieres orare volo absque ira & disceptatione, puraſque in celum manus intendere.

† *Oecumenii* in 1 Epist. ad Timoth. Comment. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. τούτέστι βούλομαι ὅσας αἰρεῖν χεῖρας χωρίς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογίſμου. πλέοντι ἀπαιτεῖ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, τὸ ἐſολίδαι κοſμίως. Conſimiliter & Mulieres, puta, volo ut pias attollant manus absque ira & disceptatione. Sed amplius quiddam à mulieribus requirit, ut decenter ornentur ſive modeſtè.

* *Theophilacti* in 1 Epist. ad Timoth. Comment. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. βούλομαι, φησι, καὶ αὐτας χωρίς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλογιſμοῦ ὅσιους χεῖρας αἰρεῖν. Similiter & Mulieres, volo, inquit, & ipſas ſine ira & disceptatione ſanctas manus attollere.

** *Grotii* Annotat. in Epist. ad Timoth, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. Similiter & Mulieres, nempe, precari volo. Hac in parte juris pares ſunt, utriuſque Sexus preces Deus exaudit. Pro utroque Chriſtus eſt mortuus, Gal. iii. 28.

‘ *pray* ; And in his Note upon it, he gives this very substantial Reason for translating it so. ‘ In the Business of Prayer the WOMEN have *equal Right* with the Men, and God hears the Prayers of both Sexes, and Christ died for both. *Gal. 3. 28.*

WE have also the Authority of the Learned Doctor *Hammond*, who has paraphras’d the eighth and ninth Verses in this Manner.

‘ VERSE 8. These Directions then I give to All both Men and WOMEN : First to Men, that as the *Jews* wash’d their Hands before they lifted them up at the Altar, *Exod. xl. 32. Psal. xxvi. 6.* so should *all Christians pray*, not only in *Jerusalem*, but any where else, with innocent Hearts, without any Anger of Malice, Quarrels of Diffensions, preserving the Bond of (the one Lip *Zeph. iii. 9.*) among all.

‘ VERSE 9. The second Direction I give for WOMEN, that they come to the *Assembly* and *pray* (in like Manner as was said of the Men verse 8.) and that they do it in such Attire as is decent, accounting Modesty and Sobriety the greatest Ornaments that they are capable of, and not setting themselves out vainly and with Ostentation, in curious Dressings of Hair, in Embroidery, or Jewels, or other Ways of sumptuous Attire.

To this Paraphrase we shall subjoin a Translation of the 8th, 9th, 10, 11th and 12th Verses, according to the French Version, Publish’d at *Paris*, with the moral Reflections of *Quesnelle*, approv’d and licens’d by Cardinal *Noailles* Archbishop of *Paris*, and his Predecessor, with the Approbation also of other Learned Men.

* Verse 8. *I will then that Men pray every where, lifting up pure Hands without Wrath and without Contention.*

9. *That the WOMEN also pray, being cloth'd as Decency requires : That they adorn themselves with Modesty and Chastity, and not with frizl'd Hair, nor with Ornaments of Gold, nor with Pearls, nor with sumptuous Garments ;*

10. *But with good Works, as it ought to be with Women who make Profession of Godliness.*

11. *Let the Women keep Silence and shew perfect Submission, when they are instructed.*

12. *I do not permit the Women to teach, nor to usurp Authority over their Husbands ; but I order them to abide in Silence.*

THE following Reflections of *Quésnelle*, on these Words, will shew in what Sense he took them to be deliver'd by the Apostle. On Verse 8. he says, ' Salvation being for the whole World, Prayer
' must be made in all Places. Jesus Christ by
' ransoming, purifying and consecrating it, thro'
' his Coming and Blood, has made it an House of
' Prayer. The Holiness of Temples is of no Ser-
' vice to one who prays with a wicked Heart :
' The most prophane Places are fit for Prayer
S ' when

* Verse. 8. Je veux donc que les hommes prient en tout lieu, élevant des mains pure, sans colere & sans contention.

9. Que les Femmes aussi prient étant vêtues comme l'honnesteté le demande : qu'elles se parent de modestie & de chasteté, & non avec des cheveux frisez, ni des Ornemens d'or, ni de perles, ni des habits somptueux ;

10. Mais avec de bonnes oevres, comme le doivent etre des Femmes qui font profession de piété.

11. Que les Femmes se tiennent en Silence & dans une entiere Soumission lorsqu'on les instruit.

12. Je ne permets point aux Femmes d'enseigner, ni de prendre autorité sur leurs maris ; mais je leur ordonne de demeurer dans le Silence.

‘ when the Heart is Holy.—Wrath, Hatred and
 ‘ Division are contrary to the Spirit of Prayer.
 ‘ ’Tis *Charity* which hears Prayer, and ’tis that
 ‘ which ought to produce it.

‘ Vers. 9. and 10. Vanity, Luxury, Grandeur,
 ‘ the Love of the World and the Pride and Fa-
 ‘ shions of it, stifle the Spirit of *Prayer* in WO-
 ‘ MEN. In what Degree or Station soever you
 ‘ be, either acknowledge that Immodesty and a
 ‘ foolish and-excessive Expence is opposite to
 ‘ Christianity, or say, if you dare, that the A-
 ‘ postle and Holy Spirit are mistaken.—How can
 ‘ Humility, Penitence and Compunction, which
 ‘ are the Foundation of Prayer, agree with a
 ‘ splendid Equipage, when ’tis Pride, Vanity,
 ‘ &c. which is the Cause of it.

‘ Verse 11. Modesty in Clothes is no great Mat-
 ‘ ter in a Woman, unless she join with it a Mo-
 ‘ desty of Tongue by Silence; a Modesty of
 ‘ Mind by a Readiness to receive Instruction; and
 ‘ a Modesty of Heart by Submission and Depen-
 ‘ dence. Let such Women as take upon them
 ‘ to judge and decide in Matters of Religion, learn
 ‘ to keep themselves within the Bounds of that
 ‘ Silence which the Spirit of God enjoins them.

‘ Verse 12. To hear, to obey, to depend on
 ‘ her Husband, to be peaceable and quiet in the
 ‘ House, are the Means of a Woman’s Sanctifi-
 ‘ cation, and a Law which the Apostle declares
 ‘ to her from God.

By these Reflections it appears, that *Quesnelle*
 took the Apostle to have enjoyn’d *Women* as well
 as Men to pray *every where*, consequently in the
 publick Assembly, whenever the Spirit of God
 should influence and excite them to it. And also
 that his Injunctions to Silence or *Quietness* rather,
 which is the true Import of the Original Word
 (*ἡσυχία*)

(ἡσυχία *) and not to teach nor usurp Authority over the Man, were relative to Women that had Husbands and a House or Family to look after. But as *John Locke* has observ'd, neither these Words of the Apostle, nor those in 1 Cor. xiv. 38. are any Manner of Prohibition to Women's speaking in the publick Assembly, when they feel an immediate Impulse or Influence of the Holy Spirit to pray or prophesie.

HAVING now evidently shewn by Scripture, as well as by the Consent and Opinion of Men well read in the Original Language of the New Testament, that *Women* are not forbid, but allow'd to pray and prophesie or preach in the Church; we shall give the Reader *Quesnelle's*, and other Learned Men's Remarks, and Reflections on some Passages of Holy Scripture, concerning the Woman of *Samaria* and *Mary Magdalen*; by which it may be gather'd, how far their Sentiments agreed with those of the *Quakers*, about WOMEN'S Fitness and Capacity to Teach in Publick, and to convey spiritual Knowledge, or the Doctrine of the Gospel to others

ON these Words, John iv. ver. 26. *Jesus saith unto her, I that speak unto thee am he.—The Woman then left her Water-Pot, and went her way into the City, and saith unto the Men, Come see a Man, which told me all Things that ever I did. Is not this the Christ? Then they went out of the City and came unto him.*

‘ WONDERFUL Effect this, says *Quesnelle*, of
 ‘ one Word of our Saviour upon the Heart of a
 ‘ WOMAN, who becomes the APOSTLE of her
 ‘ Country. He must needs have spoken to other
 S 2 ‘ Ears

* *Lexicon Constantini* ἡσυχία, otium, quies, silentium: cui opponitur πολυπραΰσις.

' Ears than those of the Body, since he is more
 ' Master of her Heart than her self, and since she
 ' forgets every Thing, to bear the Tidings of him
 ' to her Country-Men.

Verse 31. *In the mean while his Disciples prayed him, saying, Master, eat : But he said unto them, I have Meat to eat that ye know not of.*

' JESUS cannot lose Sight of this Soul he has
 ' gain'd to his Father ; he follows her in Mind
 ' and Heart ; he acts in her ; he is taken up with
 ' the Zeal which hurries her to the Town, he is
 ' upon her Tongue to give a Blessing to the Word
 ' of Eternal Life which she declares to them ; he
 ' seeks among that People those whom his Father
 ' has given him, that he may draw them to him ;
 ' he offers them up to him, prays to him for
 ' them, he operates in their Souls to make them
 ' yielding and obedient to the Voice of *this Wo-*
 ' *man.* This is the Meat he feeds upon, who is
 ' Himself our *Bread and Nourishment.*

Verse 39. *And many of the Samaritans of that City believed on him, for the saying of the Woman, which testified, he told me all that ever I did.*

' God frequently converts a *Soul*, that he may
 ' convert many others by Means of it. He shews
 ' by making Use of the *Ministry* of a poor *Wo-*
 ' *man*, for the Conversion of a People so far off the
 ' Truth, that all *Instruments* are alike to Him,
 ' who wants none, and who of Himself turns the
 ' Heart of Man as he pleases.—We must not
 ' think it beneath us to receive from a *Woman* the
 ' Instruction we want : *God* is pleased sometimes
 ' to humble Learned Men, by letting them see
 ' their Duty by the *Means* of *pious Women*, to
 ' whom he has given his Light, to crown their
 ' Charity, their Fidelity and Zeal for his Glory:

Mark xvi. 9. Now when Jesus was risen early the first Day of the Week, he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, out of whom he had cast seven Devils: And she went and told them that had been with him, as they mourned and wept.

‘THE Constancy, Perseverance and Fidelity of *Magdalen* to the very Cross, made her deserve the first Visit of *Jesus Christ* after his Resurrection. GOD chose such a faithful Soul rather than an *Apostle*, to excite Joy, Comfort and Courage in Hearts which were afflicted and cast down, that he might put an Honour on *Fidelity*, and teach Pastors to prefer it to mighty Works and extraordinary Gifts.—*Jesus Christ* by the Example of *Magdalen* and also of the *Apostles*, confirms this great Truth, which is one of the Fundamentals of his Doctrine: *Blessed are those who weep, for they shall be comforted.*

John xx. 16. Jesus saith unto her, Mary. She turn'd herself, and saith unto him, Rabboni, which is to say, Master.

THE Word of *Jesus Christ* is full of Light, and enlightens the Mind and Eyes of those who love him.—O the Force of one Word in the Mouth of *Jesus Christ*! How deeply does it penetrate and affect an Heart which has been accustom'd to it by a long Familiarity with him in Prayer, and in meditating on his Word! The Word of *Christ* operates but just so much as he intends it should. It draws from the Mouth of *Magdalen* a short Confession of Faith.—He is really become after a new Manner *Magdalen's* Master, and of all Mankind whom he has redeem'd with his Blood, and of the whole World which he has purchased by his Cross.

Verse 17. *Jesus saith unto her, touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father; but go to my*

Brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my God and your God. Ver. 18. Mary Magdalene came and told the Disciples, that she had seen the Lord, and that he had spoken these Things unto her.

‘ Is it thus, O Lord, thou sendest away so
 ‘ quickly from thee, a pious Soul which has
 ‘ fought thee so long, and with so many Tears?
 ‘ She does not complain of it: It suffices her to
 ‘ know that her Lord is living, victorious over
 ‘ Death and all his Enemies. She fought thee for
 ‘ thy own Sake, not for the Love of herself.—
 ‘ *Magdalen* is a new *Apostle*, and the first *Preach-*
 ‘ *er* of Jesus risen. All her Joy is to accomplish
 ‘ the Will of her *Master*, and to make him known
 ‘ to Men by executing his Commission. Who-
 ‘ ever is honour’d with the *Mission* of Christ, ought
 ‘ to leave the Sweetness which is found at his
 ‘ Feet in the Contemplations of his Mysteries, to
 ‘ preach Him, and impart the Knowledge of
 ‘ him to others.

QUESNELLE is not the only Person that has taken the *Woman* of Samaria, and *Mary Magdalen*, to have been Apostles, and *Preachers*: Divers Learned Men besides have said as much.

* THEOPHILACT on *John* iv. 28, 29. says, The
 ‘ *Woman’s* Heart was so inflam’d with the Words
 ‘ of

* Theophilaḏi in Iohannem Comment. Caput 4. Τοσοῦτον ἀνῆφθη τὴν καρδίαν ἡ γυνὴ ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημενῶν, ὥς ἐκ τὴν ὕδριαν ἀφείναι. οὕτως ἄρα ταχέως προετίμησε τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς χρεῖς τῆς Ἰακώβ πηγῆς, καὶ δὴ Ἀπόστολος γίνεται ὑπὸ τῆς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῆς περιλαβούσης πίσεως χειροτονηθεῖσα, καὶ πολὺν ἐλόκληρον διδάσκει, καὶ ἐφέλκεται.

In tantum accensum est cor Mulieris dictis dominicis, ut & aquam relinqueret. Sic igitur statim prætulit aquam Christi fonti Jacob, & fit *Apostola ordinata à fide*, quae cor ejus occupaverat, doceique & attrahit totam Civitatem.

‘ of Christ, that she left her Water-pot quickly,
 ‘ preferting Christ’s Water to *Jacob’s Well*, and
 ‘ is made and ordain’d an *Apostle* by the Faith she
 ‘ receiv’d in her Heart.

AND on *John* xx. 17, 18. * ‘ Then *Mary*
 ‘ went away being thought worthy of such a *Com-*
 ‘ *mission*, and declar’d those Words to the Disci-
 ‘ ples: So good a Thing is Constancy and Perse-
 ‘ verance; do thou therefore persevere, and thou
 ‘ may’st learn something, and become a *Teacher*
 ‘ of the Word even to the *Disciples*.

‘ † GROTIUS on *John* iv. 26. says, ’Twas a
 ‘ great Reward which the *Woman’s* Simplicity ac-
 ‘ quir’d her, so that *Jesus* discover’d his WORTH
 ‘ first of all to her. And on ver. 28. *The Wo-*
 ‘ *man then left her Water-pot, and went her way*
 ‘ *into the City, &c.* This shows that her Mind was
 ‘ so taken up with divine Things, that she forgot
 ‘ what she came about. It is also observable,
 ‘ that the Disciples left their *Nets* and followed
 ‘ *Jesus*. *Mat.* iv. 20.

‘ BIRKET on *John* iv. 27,—30. says, From the
 ‘ *Woman’s* leaving her Water-pot behind her, and
 S 4 ‘ hastning

* Αἰτίειν δὲν Μαρία τοιούτων ἀξιοῦσα ῥημάτων, καὶ
 ἐπαγγελίαι ταῦτα τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τοσούτον ἐστὶ προσεδρεῖα καὶ
 καρτερία καλόν. προσεδρεῖε δὲν καὶ σὺ, καὶ μαθήσῃ τι τάχα,
 καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν τῷ λόγῳ γενήσῃ διδάσκαλος. Abit igitur
 Maria, quum ei Dominus ita loqui dignatus esset, &
 annunciat ea Discipulis. Tantum bonum est perseverantia
 & assiduitas. Assiduus igitur & tu sis, & disces forsan quid-
 dam, & Discipulorum verbi futurus es Doctor.

† Grotii Annot. in Johann. Cap. iv. 26. [Ἐγὼ εἰμι] id est,
 ego is sum ut infra xviii. 5. Magnum præmium simplicitati
 Mulieris redditur, quod ei primum Jesus Dignitatem suam
 cognitam facit.

Ver. 28. Ἀφῆκεν ἔν τινι ὑδρίαν] vide supra 7. Ostenditur
 Animus accensus rerum divinarum Studio ita ut idipsum ob-
 livisceretur ob quod venerat. Sic notantur Discipuli Jesum
 secuti omisissis retribus, *Mat.* iv. 20.

' hastning to the City we are to learn, That when
 ' once a Soul has tasted the Sweetness and Excel-
 ' cellency that is in Christ Jesus, those Things
 ' that were highly esteemed before, will be little
 ' regarded then. The poor Woman came to
 ' draw Water, and thought much, and spake much
 ' of the Water of that Well, which was before
 ' her, but meeting with Jesus Christ, and tasting
 ' of his *Grace*, she forgets both Water and Wa-
 ' ter-pot, and away she goes, to fetch in all her
 ' Acquaintance to Christ. On ver. 39, — 43.
 ' Now from the *Woman's* being an Instrument to
 ' bring her Acquaintance to Christ, by her own
 ' *Experience* of what she had heard of him, learn,
 ' 1st. That very weak Instruments, when they
 ' imploy themselves for *Christ*, desiring to extol
 ' his Praise, and set forth his Glory, are some-
 ' times richly bless'd with great *Success*: *Many of*
 ' *the Samaritans believed for the Saying of the poor*
 ' *Woman*. Learn 2^{dly}, That when a Person can
 ' say but little of Christ; yet if it be spoken from
 ' *Experience* and *sensible Feeling*, it will be more
 ' successful and perswasive, than much more that
 ' is spoken from *Notional Knowledge*. Such was
 ' this *Woman's* Testimony concerning Christ;
 ' *Come see a Man that told me all Things that ever I*
 ' *did: Is not this the Christ?* She spoke what she
 ' found; yea, what she *felt within her self*, and
 ' speaking her own *Experience*, many believed on
 ' him *for her Saying*. But farther these *Samaritans*
 ' believed Christ to be a Prophet upon the Testi-
 ' mony of this *Woman*; but they believed him
 ' afterwards to be the *Messias*, or the Saviour of
 ' the World, upon the Credit and Authority of
 ' his own Word. Verse 41.

' MATTHEW HENRY on *John* iv. 26. *I that*
 ' *speak unto thee am he*. Christ did never make
 ' himself

' himself known so expressly to any, as he did to
 ' this poor *Samaritan* [Woman] and to the blind
 ' Man, *John* ix. 37. No not to *John Baptist*, when
 ' he sent to him, *Mat.* xi. 4, 5. No not to the
 ' *Jews*, when they challenged him to tell them
 ' whether he was the Christ, *John* x. 24. But
 ' Christ would thus put an Honour upon such as
 ' were *poor* and *despised*. *Jam.* ii. 6. This *Woman*,
 ' for ought we know, had never any Opportunity
 ' of seeing *Christ's* Miracles which were then
 ' the ordinary Method of Conviction.——God
 ' can make the *Light* of *Grace* shine into the
 ' *Heart*; even where he doth not make the *Light*
 ' of the Gospel shine in the Face.

' THIS *Woman* was better prepared to receive
 ' such a *Discovery* than others were; she was big
 ' with the Expectation of the *Messias*, and ready
 ' to receive Instruction from Him. *Christ* will
 ' manifest himself to those, who with an honest
 ' humble Heart desire to be acquainted with
 ' him: *I that speak to thee am he*: See here, first,
 ' how near *Jesus* was to her, when she knew not
 ' who he was, *Gen.* xxviii. 16. Many are lament-
 ' ing *Christ's* Absence, and longing for his Pre-
 ' sence, when at the same Time he is *speaking* to
 ' them. Secondly, How Christ makes himself
 ' known to us, by *speaking* to us. *I that speak*
 ' unto thee so closely, so convincingly, with such
 ' Assurance, with such an Authority, I am he.

' NOTE, those who are brought to the Know-
 ' ledge of Christ, will show it by a holy Con-
 ' tempt of this World, and the Things of it.
 ' And those who are *newly* acquainted with the
 ' Things of God, must be excused, if at first they
 ' be so taken up with that new World, into which
 ' they are brought, that the Things of this World
 ' seem to be for a Time wholly neglected. How
 ' she

' she minded her Errand to the Town, for her
 ' Heart was upon it ; she *went into the City*, and
 ' said to *the Men*, probably the Aldermen, the
 ' Men in Authority, whom it may be she found
 ' met together upon some publick Business, or
 ' to *the Men*, that is, to every Man she met in
 ' the Streets ; she *proclaimed it in the chief Places*
 ' of Concourse, Come, see a Man which told me all
 ' Things that ever I did, is not this the Christ ? Observe,
 ' How solicitous she was to bring her Friends
 ' and Neighbours acquainted with Christ. When
 ' she had found that Treasure, she called together
 ' her Friends and Neighbours, as *Luke xv. 4.* not
 ' only to *rejoyce with her*, but to *share* with her ;
 ' knowing there was enough to enrich herself, and
 ' all that would partake with her.

' NOTE, they that have been themselves with
 ' Jesus, and have found Comfort in him, should
 ' do all they can to bring others to him : Has he
 ' done us the Honour to make himself known to
 ' us, let us do him the Honour to make him
 ' known to others, nor can we do our selves a
 ' greater Honour. This *Woman* became an
 ' APOSTLE.

' Verse 39. *Many of the Samaritans of that City*
 ' believed on him for the Saying of the Woman. So
 ' far they believed on him, that they took him
 ' for a Prophet, and were desirous to know the
 ' Mind of God from him : This is favourably in-
 ' terpreted a believing on him. Now observe,

' (1.) Who they were that believed ; *many of*
 ' the Samaritans, who were not of the House of
 ' Israel. Their Faith was not only an Aggrava-
 ' tion of the Unbelief of the Jews, from whom bet-
 ' ter might have been expected, but an Earnest
 ' of the Faith of the Gentiles, who would wel-
 ' come that which the Jews rejected:

' (2) Upon

‘ (2.) Upon what Inducement they believed ;
 ‘ *for the Saying of the Woman.* See here, 1st, how
 ‘ God is sometimes pleased to use very weak and
 ‘ unlikely Instruments for the Beginning and car-
 ‘ rying on of a good Work. A little *Maid* di-
 ‘ rected a great Prince to *Elisha*, 2 Kings v. 2.

‘ (3.) How great a Matter a little Fire kind-
 ‘ les ; our Saviour by instructing one *poor Wo-*
 ‘ *man*, spread Instruction to a *whole Town*. See
 ‘ how good it is to speak *experimentally* of Christ
 ‘ and the Things of God. This *Woman* could
 ‘ say little of Christ, but what she did say she
 ‘ spoke *feelingly* ; *He told me all that ever I did.*
 ‘ Those are most likely to do Good, that can tell
 ‘ what God has done for their Souls, *Psa.* lxvi. 16.

‘ OF *Mary Magdalen*, on *John* xx. 17. He
 ‘ directs her what Message to carry to his Disci-
 ‘ ples : *But go to my Brethren and tell them not only*
 ‘ *that I am Risen*, she could have told them that
 ‘ of her self, for she had seen him ; but that I
 ‘ ASCEND. Note by whom it is sent, by *Mary*
 ‘ *Magdalen*, out of whom had been cast seven *De-*
 ‘ *vils*, yet thus favour’d. This was her Reward
 ‘ for her *Constancy* in adhering to Christ, and
 ‘ enquiring after him ; and a tacit Rebuke to the
 ‘ Apostles who had not been so close as she was in
 ‘ attending on the *dying Jesus* ; nor so early as she
 ‘ was in *meeting the Rising Jesus* she becomes an
 ‘ *Apostle* to the Apostles.

THE Reader now sees how far the Sentiments of
 the aforecited Authors agree and concur with those
 of the *Quakers*, respecting *Women’s* Capacity and
 Fitness to convey spiritual Knowledge or the Doc-
 trine of the Gospel, to others.

IF therefore our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus
 Christ himself, made Choice of a *Woman* to make
 known to her, first of all, the Worship in Spirit
 and

and Truth, which alone was acceptable to the Father, and which he was then going to set up in the World, in Opposition to the Establish'd Worship both at *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*; and if he reveal'd himself more plainly and openly to this *Woman* than to the *Jews*, or even to *John Baptist*, and presently after made her an *Apostle* and *Preacher* to her own Countrymen, is not *that* a very good Argument that *Women* may be employ'd in the most important Service of the Gospel? And,

If the *Woman of Samaria* was chosen and prefer'd by Christ to publish his Outward Coming as the promis'd *Messiah*, before either of his Disciples, and *Mary Magdalen* to declare his Resurrection and Ascension even to the Apostles, is it reasonable to think, that when the Holy Spirit was come, which he promis'd his Disciples to send in his *Name*, and that by it they should receive Power to be Witnesses for him in *Jerusalem*, and *Judea*, and *Samaria*, and to the uttermost Part of the Earth; We say, is it reasonable to think, that *Women* would not then also be made Witnesses and Publishers of his *Spiritual*, as well as Outward Coming? Rather if Christ chose *Women* to publish and declare him while he was on Earth, much more would he do it at his Return in Spirit, and in the Time of the plentiful Effusion of the Holy Ghost, when Churches should be gather'd in his Name, and his Kingdom and Government set up and Establish'd in the Hearts of his chosen People.

If we allow not this, how are the great and glorious Prophecies concerning the *latter Days*, when God would pour out of his Spirit upon *all Flesh* * fulfill'd? And to what End or Purpose should

DAUGHTERS

* Dr. Lowth in his Comment on these Words of *Joel*, *I will*

DAUGHTERS and HANDMAIDENS, as *Joel* prophesied, have the Spirit pour'd out upon them, if

will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie, says, The Gift of Prophecy was bestow'd upon some Women under the Old Testament, as upon *Miriam* Exod. xv. 20. *Deborah*, Judg. iv. 14. and *Huldah*, 2 Kings xxii. 24. But this Gift was more frequently confer'd upon them in the Times of the New. Thus we read of four Daughters of *Philip* the Evangelist, who did prophesie, *Acts* xxi. 9. And Church-History affords us several other Instances; such as *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, who were Martyrs for the Christian Faith, *Potaminia* mention'd by *Eusebius* and others.

Eusebius also in Lib. 5. Ch. 17. cites an ancient Writer, who speaks of one *Ammias* a Prophetess in *Philadelphia*, next after the Daughters of *Philip*, and this Writer says, *The Apostle is of Opinion, that the Gift of Prophecie ought to continue in every Church, until the last Advent of our Lord.* And *Theophilast* * on 1 Cor. 11. 5. says, There were Many other Women, besides the Daughters of *Philip*, who had the Gift of Prophecy.

The Writers of the *Magdeburg Centuries* ** relate, that about the Year 126, there was one *Sophia*, who came to *Rome* with her three Daughters, and converted many of the Matrons there, to the Faith of Christ. And,

Theodore and *Socrates*, speak in their Ecclesiastical Histories of a captive Woman that converted the *Iberians*: As *Frumentius* guided the Indians to the Knowledge of God, so at the same Time, says *Theodore*, a certain Woman taken Prisoner in War, brought the *Iberians* to the Faith of Christ. And *Socrates* says, the King and Queen of the *Iberians* became Preachers of Christ, the King preached to the Men, and the Queen to the Women. Lib. i. ch. 23.

And if we may credit the *Annals* of *Baronius*, there was in the Year 372, one *Mauvia* Queen of the *Saracens*, who profess'd and Preach'd the Catholick Faith. And in the Year 499, *Chrotildis* Queen of the *Franks*, ceased not to Preach; Regina

* *Theophilaſti* Comment. Ησαν γὰρ ὁπότερ' ἔφημεν, καὶ γυναῖκες, τὸ χάρισμα τῆς προφητείας ἔχουσαι ὡς αἱ εἰρηπυθοῦνταί τε, καὶ ἄλλαι πολλαί. Fuerant autem & Feminae propheticae (ut diximus) Donum habentes, ut *Philippii* Filiae, aliaeque mulieres.

** *Magd. Cent.* 2. *Sophia* ex Italia Romam cum tribus filiabus venit, ibique multas Matronas Ethnicas ad Christi Fidem convertit.

if they were not to prophesie in the *Church*? If in the Assemblies for the Worship of God, *Women* are fill'd with the Holy Ghost, must they not speak there as the Spirit shall give them Utterance? And when their Hearts are enflamed and overcome with the Love and Goodness of God, must they keep Silence and not praise and magnifie him in the Congregation?

UNDER the Legal Dispensation, there were *Women* who were *Propheteesses*, and spake in the Name of the Lord, and magnify'd him in the Congregation of his People; and shall not *Women* under the Gospel, under the plentiful Effusion of the Spirit, speak in his Name, and tell what he has done for their Souls?

Miriam the Sister of *Aaron*, sung Praises to God in the Congregation of the *Israelites*, and when Men were silent *Huldah* prophesied* in the Days

Regina non cessabat predicare. And in the Year 583, *Ingundis* Queen of the *Goths* in *Spain*, began to preach to her Husband, *Capit Ingundis predicare viro suo.* And in the Year 591, By the Preaching of *Theodolinda* Queen of the *Longobards* in *Italy*, the King and also his Subjects obtain'd a great Favour from God. *Magnum a Deo per Theodolindam Reginam consecutos esse beneficium.*

William Tindal the Martyr, term'd the *English* Apostle, says in his Answer to Sir *Thomas Moor*, p. 252. If History be true, *Women* have Preached since the Opening of the New Testament And *Martin Luther*, the famous Reformer in *Germany*, asserted, that every good Christian is a Preacher, not only Men but even *Women* also, and that it was wickedly done of the *Romish* Clergy, to assume to themselves only this Authority to Teach, and be Priests and Ministers.*

* See *R. Barclay's* Apol. Prop. 10.

* Hieronymi in *Sophoniam* Prologus. Qui si scirent *Hol-dam* Viris tacentibus prophetasse.—Dominum resurgentem primum apparuisse *Mulieribus*, & Apostolorum illas fuisse *Apostolas*: ut erubescerent Viri non quaerere, quem jam fragilior Sexus invenerat.

Days of King *Jofiah*. And when *Simeon* took the Child *Jefus* up in his Arms and blessed him, there was one *Anna* a *Prophetess*, which departed not from the Temple, but served God with Fasting and Prayers Night and Day, and she coming in that Instant, gave Thanks likewise unto the Lord, and spake of him to all them that look'd for Redemption in Jerusalem. Had *Anna* the Privilege allow'd her by the *Jews* to speak in the Temple, and shall *Christians* deny a Woman the Privilege of Speaking in the Church, to all them that look for Redemption in this Gospel Day?

As the *Israelites* were journeying towards the promis'd Land, the Spirit of the Lord rested upon *Eldad* and *Medad*, and they prophesied in the Camp, and when *Joshua* the Son of *Nun* would have had *Moses* to forbid them, *Moses* said unto him, *Enviest thou for my Sake? Would God that all the Lord's People were Prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them.* Was it thus under the Law, that Women, and the Meanest of the People, such as were not appointed for the Service of the Tabernacle, had the Spirit of *Prophecy* given them; and shall any of the Professors of Christianity, not only envy as *Joshua* did, but even disallow and deny that the Lord in this Day puts

Numb.: 11
29.

Our Lord at his Resurrection appear'd first of all to *Women*, and they were *Apostles* to the Apostles, that Men might be ashamed not to have sought Him whom the weaker Sex had found.

Part of the 68th Psalm is by *Chrysostom* and others, thought to respect the Time of the Gospel, and *Ferom* says, that the Words of the 14th Verse respect those *Women* who publish'd the Resurrection to the Apostles, for according to the *Hebrew* the Words are, *The Lord shall give the Word, Great is the Host of the Women Evangelists.* In *Hebræo* habet, quæ evangelizantur, hoc est, *Mulieribus* quæ evangelizabant *Apostolis*; ubi dicitur, euntes dicite Fratribus meis, &c.

puts his Spirit upon Sons and Daughters, and thereby qualifies them for the Service of the Gospel?

How very like to that meek Man *Moses*, who would that ALL the Lord's People were *Prophets*, was the Apostle *Paul*, who said to the *Corinthians*, I would that ye ALL spake with Tongues, but rather that ye *prophefied*; the Word ALL in both these Places comprehending the whole Church; it follows that both *Moses* and *Paul* desir'd that *Women* might *prophefie* as well as Men: What then must we think of those call'd Christians, who say that all Prophefie, or speaking by the Spirit, is ceas'd since the Apostle's Days.

‘ * To say the Holy Spirit only dwelt in Christians whilst the extraordinary Gifts and *Afflatus* of the Holy Spirit were continued to the Church, and they lay under Persecution from the *Heathen Emperors*, is not only to contradict the Tenor of the Scriptures, which declare that *All* Christ's living Members are thus united by the Spirit to their Head, 1 Cor. xii. 13. and that if any Man have not the Spirit of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his, *Rom.* viii. 9. He cannot be the Son of God, for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, ver. 14. He hath no Right to call God Father, ver. 15. No Interest in the Adoption, and the Inheritance of Sons, ver. 17. But it is also to enervate the Virtue of all the Promises of Christ, and the Consolation of Christians of all Future Ages under their Sufferings for the Sake of Christ; yea, it is in Effect to make the Dispensation of the Gospel cease; the Difference betwixt that and the Law, being by the Apostle placed

* See Dr. *Whitby's* Appendix to the 6th Chapter of the 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

placed in this, that the One is the *Ministration of the Letter only*, the Other also of *the Spirit*. And if this were so only whilst these extraordinary Operations of the Holy Spirit lasted; then from the Time that they have ceased, the Gospel doth not in this differ from the Law, or deserve to be prefer'd above it on that Account.

HERE we have a Doctor of the Church of *England* vindicating one of the main Points of the Doctrine of the People commonly call'd *Quakers*, namely, the Indwelling and Teaching of the Holy Spirit: And this is agreeable to what *Irenæus* says of the Church of Christ, * *Where a Church is, there the Spirit of God is, and where the Spirit of God is, there is a Church and every Gift of his*. And our blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, has said, *Where Two or Three are met together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them*. Now this Promise is general, and not limited to Time or Place, and 'tis plain that *Irenæus* who liv'd soon after the Apostles Times, was of the same Opinion.

AND, besides that general Promise of Christ, which is an Encouragement to all who meet in *his Name*, to expect his Presence with them, there are other Promises relating to the Times of the Gospel, which give Assurance of the Teachings of God's Spirit. *All thy Children shall be taught of the Lord*, this Promise Christ seems to allude to, when he says, *It is written in the Prophets, they shall be taught of God, every Man therefore that hath heard, and hath learn'd of the Father, cometh unto me*. And by *Jeremiah* God promis'd that he would make a *New Covenant* with the House of Israel, *I will* Joh. 6.45.
Jerem. 31.
33.

* *Irenæi Liber 3. Cap. 40. Ubi enim Ecclesia, ibi & Spiritus Dei, & ubi Spiritus Dei, illic Ecclesia, & omnis gratia: Spiritus autem veritas.*

will put my Law in their inward Parts, and write it in their Hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. And that universal Promise of God by the Prophet *Joel*, in which *Women* as well as *Men* are expressly concluded. *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie.* Now we are assured that *all* the Promises of God are *Yea* and *Amen*, in *Jesus Christ*. *

AND farther, in Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit's *Assistance* and *Influence* now, as well as in the Days of the Apostles, *Dr. Whitby* says, 'If God by his Spirit hath no *Influence* upon the Heart, or Soul, how doth he *encline* or *draw* it? If none upon the Understanding, how doth he *enlighten* or *instruct* it? — And that Passage of *St. Luke*, *Ask and ye shall receive, seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened to you; for if evil Parents give good Gifts to their Children, how much more will your heavenly Father give his Holy Spirit to them that ask him,* must be of no Use or Virtue to us. For what in these Expressions can we pray for, but the *Assistance* of the *Holy Spirit*? And what Assistance can he afford us, if he doth not OPERATE at all upon our Souls?

'To say *this Promise* is to be confined to the *Apostles Days*, seems not agreeable to Reason; for why then do we hear of it in the Sermon on the Mount, which certainly was spoken *εις ἁπολὸς τῶ λαοῦ*, in the Audience of the Multitude? Why doth

* *Pool's Annot.* All the Promises of Grace, whatsoever is promised to Believers, shall be verified by him, that so God may be glorified, and have from Men the Honour of being always esteemed a true and faithful God, one that cannot fail or falsifie his Word.

doth it run in Words so general, *πᾶς γὰρ*, for
 EVERY ONE *that asks receives*? Moreover, those
 Spiritual and Ordinary Effects, for which the
 Holy Spirit was then given, those Fruits of
 the Spirit they produced in them, are as *need-*
ful, and as spiritually good for Christians *Now*,
 as when our *Saviour* spake these Words; for as
 the *Holy Spirit* was needful *Then*, to strengthen
 Christ's Servants *in the inward Man to do his*
Will, to comfort them in Tribulations, and Ephes. 3.
 support them under Fiery Trials, and to pre- 16.
 serve them from the Subtleties of *Satan*, and
 the Temptations of the wicked World, so is
 there the *same Need* of his *Assistance* now for all
 these gracious Ends, and therefore the same
 Reason to expect him *still* to all these Purposes.
 Moreover, the Conditions of *this Promise*, may
 be performed by us *Now* as well as *Then*; we
 may be now sincerely desirous to obey the holy
 Will of God, and with true Fervency and Im-
 portunity may beg the Holy Spirit to this End.
 And if we may acceptably perform those Du-
 ties to which *this Promise* is annexed, why may
 we not as confidently expect the Blessing *promis-*
ed from the God of Truth? For the Encourage-
 ment here given to expect the *Assistance* of the
 Holy Spirit is this, That we ask him of our
Heavenly Father. Now this most comfortable
 Relation God bears to all his Children of what
Age soever, he is *the same Yesterday, to Day, and*
for Ever; and therefore there is *Now*, and *ever*
 will be, the same Benignity in God, the same
 good Will and Readiness in him, to give his
Holy Spirit Now unto his Children *for all needful*
Purposes, as in all former Ages: If therefore
 in like Manner we do *ask*, we must have equal
 Reason to *expect* we should receive him.

Now, if the Necessity of the Holy Spirit's *Assistance*, as well in this Day as in the Time of the Apostles shall be thus acknowledg'd and pleaded for by an Eminent Doctor of the Church of *England*,* is it not

See the
Church Cate-
chism.

'Tis the profess'd and avow'd Doctrine of the Church of *England*, that a Man is not able of himself to walk in the *Commandments of God without his special Grace*.* And *Lesley*, a noted Author says, 'The Church of *England* constantly teaches, that all the saving Graces are wrought in our Hearts by the *Inspiration* of the Holy Ghost, insomuch that of *our selves*, we are not able so much as to think a good Thought: And that this *Inspiration* is as necessary to our fructifying, or bringing forth good Works, as the Influence of the Sun is to the Earth's bringing forth Fruits. That whatever may bear the Appearance of good Works in us, and is not wrought by this *Inspiration* is not good, nor acceptable to God; as it is express'd in our 13th Article.

And another very celebrated* Author of the same Church, in his Exposition of the *Church Catechism* says, 'One of the Offices which the Scripture ascribes to the *Holy Spirit* is, to abide with *Christ's Followers* for ever, even unto the End of the World, as the great *Sanctifier* of the Hearts of good Men. Our Duty with Regard to the *Holy Ghost*, is to pray to God our Father continually, for the Assistance of this his *Holy Spirit*; whereby we may be enabled to overcome all the Temptations of Sin. We are to receive his Testimony as deliver'd down to us in the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets. To obey his good Motions; be solicitous to obtain his Gifts and Graces, which are the Habits of Moral and Christian Virtues; and be careful, above all Things not to quench, and grieve, and drive him from us, lest we be found to do *Despite unto the Spirit of Grace*.

*Dr. Samuel
Clarke.
Joh. 14. 16.
Mat. 28. 20.
Rom. 15. 16.
1 Pet. 1. 2. 4
Acts 11. 24.
1 Thess. 5. 19.
Eph. 4. 30.
Heb. 10. 29.

After such Concessions as these, may we not wonder to hear the same Men say, that we are to expect now no other Inspirations or Teachings of the Holy Spirit, but what we find already in our Bibles, and that to obey the Spirit now, is to obey his Dictates as deliver'd down to us in the inspired Writings. But,

If this be the Case we would fain know what they mean, when they tell us of the Necessity of the Holy Ghost's Inspiration, and of his Abiding with *Christ's Followers* to the End of the World? Why are we to pray for the *Holy Spirit's Assistance*

not strange, that a People who profess the same Doctrine, and from their own Experience bear

T 3

Testimony

sistance, and how shall we obey his *good Motions*? What are these *good Motions*, do we see or read them in the *inspired Writings*? Do we find his *Gifts* and *Graces* there? How do we *quench* or *grieve* the *Holy Spirit*, if we neither perceive or hear his *Voice* in us? How can we drive him *from* but by opposing his *Dictates* in us.

In Opposition to the Sentiments and Opinions of such Doctors, the Archbishop of *Cambray* penn'd, we believe, what follows concerning the *inward Teachings* of the Spirit.

'It is certain, says the Bishop, by the Scripture, that the Spirit of God dwells *in* us, that he *abds* there; that he *prays* there without Ceasing; that he *groans* there; that he *desires* there; that he *asketh* there for us that which we know not how to ask for our selves; that he *excites* and *animates* us; that he *speaks* in *Silence*; that he *suggests* all Truth to us; and that he *unites* us so to himself, that we are henceforth but *one Spirit with God*. This is what the Scripture teaches us: This is what the *Doctors* who are farthest off from believing the *inward Teachings* of the Spirit can but acknowledge. And yet notwithstanding these clear Principles, they always incline to believe by their Practice, that 'tis only the outward written Law, or at most a kind of doctrinal Light and Reflection, which enlightens inwardly, and that then our Reason acts of it self by means of this Instruction: They do not regard enough the *inward Teacher*, which is the *Holy Spirit*, and which does all *in* us. He is the Soul of our Souls. We could not frame a Thought, nor create a Desire without him. Alas! how great then is our Blindness!

You will perhaps say to me, what then are you *inspired*? Yes, without Doubt, but not as the Prophets and Apostles were. Without the actual Inspiration of the Spirit of Grace, we could neither *do*, *will* nor *believe* any Good. We are then always *inspir'd*, but we continually *quench* this *Inspiration*. God never ceases to *speak*, but the *Noise* of outward Things, and of our *Passions* within, deafen and hinder us from *hearing* him.——O! how seldom it is that the Soul is *silent* enough to let God speak.——The least Reserve; the least Regard to self, the least Fear, lest we should hear too plainly that God requires *More* than we care to give Him, grieves

Quel Esprit de Dieu Enseigne au dedans. See Oeuvres Spirituelles. Tom. 1. ch. 18. Rom. ch. 8. and Joh. ch. 14. 1 Cor. 6. 17

Testimony to the fulfilling the aforesaid gracious Promises in their own Particulars, as well as *for all needful Purposes* in the Church, should for that very Reason be despis'd and call'd *Enthusiasts*, and by such too as say the Holy Scripture is their Rule, and the Rule of all Christians to walk by?

1 Thes. 5.
19, 20. Were not those in the Apostles Days who *quench'd the Spirit*, and *despis'd Prophecys*, like unto these in our Day, who confine and limit all Teaching and Preaching in the Church to Men only? And do not they who *rely* on Academical Learning as the best Qualification for a Minister of the Gospel, and deride such as *wait* for the Influence, Assistance and Teaching of the Holy Spirit to *enable* them to pray and preach, justly incur the Censure pass'd on some among the *Thessalonians*, who *despis'd Prophecys* or speaking by the Spirit?

By

grieves this *inward Voice*. What then need we wonder that to many Persons, even such as are pious in their Way, but full of amusing Things, vain Desires, false Wisdom, and Confidence in their Virtues, cannot hear *it*, but look upon this *inward Voice* as a *Chimera* of Fanaticks? Alas! what then do they mean by their contemptuous Reasoning? To what Purpose would the outward Words of *Pastors* serve, or even of the *Scriptures* themselves, if there were not an *inward Word* of the Holy Spirit himself, which gives the other all its *Efficacy*? The outward Word even of the *Gospel*, without this inward *living* and *fruitful* Word, would be but a vain Sound. 'Tis the Letter alone that *killeth*, and 'tis the Spirit only that can *quicken* us.——'Tis not therefore the Outward Law only of the Gospel, which God shows us inwardly by the Light of Reason and Scripture, 'tis his *Spirit* which *speaks*, which *affects* us, which *operates* in us; and which *animates* us; so that 'tis *his Spirit* which does *in* us whatsoever we do that is good, as it is our Soul, which animates our Body, and which regulates all its Motions. *True* then it is, that we are *continually inspired*, and that we live the Life of Grace but in Proportion as we partake of this *inward Inspiration*.

See the 1st
and 2d Chap-
ters of the
3d Book of
Thomas à
Kempis.

By the Caution given the Church of *Theſſalonica*, not to *quench the Spirit* nor *deſpiſe Propheſyings*, * we may gather, that there were ſome at that Time, who through a Conceit of their own Knowledge, deſpis'd the Instruments God was pleas'd ſometimes to gift with his Spirit, and enable to prophesie or ſpeak in his Name ; and the Apoſtle knowing that the Church of Chriſt is *edify'd and built up by the Spirit*, and that this cauſeth the *whole Body to increaſe and ediſie it ſelf in Love*, made him leave that very memorable and weighty Caution, which *Godeau* Biſhop of *Vence* has thus interpreted, * ' Quench not the
T 4 Spirit

* *Pool's Annot.* That ye may be enabled to pray and give Thanks, *quench not the Spirit*.——But the Spirit himſelf cannot be quenched, he means it therefore of his Gifts and Operations, which are either Ordinary or Extraordinary. Many had extraordinary Gifts in the primitive Times, of Healing, Tongues, Government, Prophecy, &c. thoſe that had them, without Queſtion, ſhould have taken Care, not by any Fault of their own to loſe them ; eſpecially that of *Propheſie*, which the Apoſtle prefers before all others. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 1. and mentions here in the following Verſe. And which the Apoſtle exhorted *Timothy* to ſtir up in himſelf, 2 *Tim.* i. 6. As we ſtir up the Fire to quicken it, ſo the Word *ἀναζωπυεῖν* imports. *Deſpiſe not Propheſyings*. Thereby we may quench the Spirit, which uſually works upon Men's Minds and Hearts by it.——The Apoſtle means prize, value, and highly eſteem it, attend upon it, have great Regard to it. It being an Ordinance of God for Inſtruction and Edification, yea, and for Converſion alſo, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 24, 25. Some deſpiſe it, becauſe of the outward Meaneſs of the Perſons which prophesie, ſome through a proud Conceit of their own Knowledge, ſome by a Contempt of Religion it ſelf.

* 1 *Epître de S. Paul aux Theſſaloniens Chap. v. ver. 19.* N'eteignez point l'eſprit (de la foy & de la charité qui eſt en vous. Ou : Permettez à chacun de ſe ſervir des dons du Saint Eſprit, qu'il a reçeus pour l'edification de l'Egliſe) ver. 20. Ne mépriſez pas (la Grace de) la Prophetie, (de l'expoſition des Eſcritures ſaintes, qui eſt donnée à quelquesuns.) Verſion Expliquée du Nouveau Teſtament.



‘ Spirit of Faith and Charity which is in you, Or,
 ‘ permit *Every one* to exercise the Gifts of the
 ‘ Holy Spirit, which he has receiv’d for the Edi-
 ‘ fication of the Church. Despise not the Grace
 ‘ of Propheſie, that is, the Expoſition of the Ho-
 ‘ ly Scriptures which is given to ſome.

WHAT this French Biſhop calls the Grace of Propheſie, or Gift of the Holy Spirit, given for the Edification of the Church, is excellently well deſcrib’d by *John de Labadie*, who is much celebrated for his extraordinary Gifts and Endowments for the Reformation of the Church, by the pious and very Learned *Anna Maria Schurman*.†

‘ * He ſays, that *Propheſy*, or the Action of
 ‘ Propheſying, is not without the Spirit of God ;
 ‘ that ’tis by him it is perform’d, and from him
 ‘ all Prophecy and prophetick Speaking comes.
 ‘ And not only the extraordinary, but the ordina-
 ‘ ry, ſuch as Preaching by the Spirit.

‘ THE Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeaking of Revelation,
 ‘ ſays, if any Thing is reveal’d to another that is
 ‘ fitting, let the firſt hold his Peace, and this
 ‘ Exercise or Gift he explains (in the 12th Chap.)
 ‘ under the Term Revelation. Now the Reve-
 ‘ lation he ſpeaks of is divine, and he means by it
 ‘ no other than the Manifeſtation of Truth, and
 ‘ Things which the Spirit of Faith and Wiſdom
 ‘ gives. And by taking Notice that this Reve-
 ‘ lation may happen on a ſudden, whilſt another
 ‘ is ſpeaking, he ſhews that it muſt come from
 ‘ God, whoſe Spirit ought to *teach* and *conduēt*
 ‘ the

† See her Life written in Latin by her own Hand, entitled, *A. M. à Schurman Eukλnpia ſeu melioris partis Eleſtio*.

* *Traité Eccleſiaſtique, ou le Diſcernement d’une veritable Eglise ſuivant l’Ecriture Sainte. Par Jean de Labadie, Paſteur.*

‘ the Church, as in Reality there can be no other,
 ‘ but that, which can lead and instruct the Church
 ‘ savingly. We must therefore exclude from the
 ‘ Prophetick Office all human Study barely, and
 ‘ the Preparation which is made by Method and
 ‘ Art, which comes by a Man’s own Effort and
 ‘ Endeavours : much more a Spirit of Vanity and
 ‘ Pride that often carries Men to speak of God,
 ‘ and meddle in divine Things, to be seen and
 ‘ taken Notice of. And lastly, the Way of
 ‘ Speaking as Orators and Rhetoricians, who
 ‘ strive to polish their Language, and speak by
 ‘ Rule and set Periods : For the Holy Spirit is
 ‘ what ought to furnish both Things and Words :
 ‘ And indeed St. *Paul* calls that the *Administration*
 ‘ of the Word of God by his Power, that is, by
 ‘ the Presence and Assistance of his Spirit. And
 ‘ St. *Peter* adds, that he who *speaks* in the Church,
 ‘ ought to speak as if God spoke by him, for
 ‘ otherwise a holy Church would not be *enter-*
 ‘ *tain’d* and *instructed* worthily, that is, divinely.
 ‘ It would be entertain’d and instructed in a hu-
 ‘ man Manner, and in Things divine too, which
 ‘ ought carefully to be avoided : And such Ways
 ‘ of Instruction must be excluded from Gospel
 ‘ Assemblies, or they will become human.

‘ Now to attain to this Manner of Preaching,
 ‘ which is Prophecyng, or speaking without Stu-
 ‘ dy, of Things contain’d in the Scriptures, we
 ‘ must partake of *that Spirit*, which, as *Paul* says,
 ‘ *trys all Things, speaks Mysteries, and searches the*
 ‘ *deep Things of God* ; and as *Luke* says, *Acts* ii. 4.
 ‘ *It* causes one to speak of the *wonderful Works*
 ‘ *of God*. We must partake of *that Unction* from
 ‘ the Holy One that teaches *all Things* ; and as
 ‘ St. *John* assures us, *teaches all Truths, and leads*
 ‘ *therein*, as *Christ* himself assures us: As there-
 ‘ fore

‘ fore upon such an Occasion it is necessary above
 ‘ all that the Mouth speak from the *Abundance* of
 ‘ the *Heart*, * so the Heart also should be fill’d with
 ‘ *Grace*.

THIS

* To speak from the Abundance of the Heart is undoubtedly more edifying to a Church than speaking from the Abundance of the Head or Memory, or by premeditated Subjects, and this was the Opinion of the *Archbishop* of *Cambray*, and what he practis’d himself. The Editor of his Sermons in *French* says in the Advertisement to the Reader, ‘ All
 ‘ these Sermons are the juvenile Productions of this *Prelate*,
 ‘ when he was only call’d the Abbot of *Fenelon*; for tho’ he
 ‘ preach’d very often in his *Diocese*, yet it is long since he pra-
 ‘ ctis’d what he has remark’d in his *Dialogue* upon Elo-
 ‘ quence, that is, *never to preach but from the Abundance of*
 ‘ *the Heart*. His Sermons were nothing but the Overflow-
 ‘ ings of Love, which fill’d his Heart and shed it self upon
 ‘ the Auditory. The Discourses which we now publish, are
 ‘ only the first Blossoms of ripe Fruit that came afterwards,
 ‘ of which there is none remaining but in the Hearts of those
 ‘ that heard him.

De ne pre-
 cher que de
 l’abondance
 du Cœur.

The Advantage and Excellency of this Way of Preach-
 ing, is finely describ’d by one who liv’d above thirteen
 Hundred Years ago, and by his Homilies, which seem to
 be extemporary Discourses, we think likewise, that he
 preach’d from the Abundance of the Heart, and the imme-
 * Homily 18. diate Influence of the Holy Spirit. ‘ They, says * *Macarius*,
 ‘ that are enrich’d with the Holy Spirit, that have the hea-
 ‘ venly Riches in Truth; and the Communion of the Spirit
 ‘ within themselves; if they speak the Word of Truth to any,
 ‘ or impart to any their spiritual Discourses, proposing there-
 ‘ by to cheer their Souls, it is out of their own Store, and
 ‘ their own Treasure, which they are possess’d of in them-
 ‘ selves; out of that do they speak, and from that do they
 ‘ glad the Souls of them that hear their spiritual Discourse.
 ‘ Nor are they afraid they shall be at a Loss, because they
 ‘ have in actual Possession that Heavenly Treasure of Good-
 ‘ ness, from which they take and revive those that are spi-
 ‘ ritually entertain’d by them. But he that is poor and not
 ‘ possess’d of the Riches of Christ, and has not that spiritual
 ‘ Treasure in his Soul, that sendeth forth an universal Good-
 ‘ ness both of Words and Works, of divine Thoughts and
 ‘ : Mysteries

THIS truly Apostolical and Primitive Way of *Prophefying*, or speaking from the immediate Influence of the Spirit, as any of the Assembly should find themselves mov'd and concern'd, observing the Order and Decorum prescrib'd by the Apostle (in 1 Cor. xii.) was what *Jacobus Acontius*, a Learned Man of *Italy*, mightily desir'd to see restor'd again to the Churches. He left the Superstitious:

' Myſteries unutterable; tho' he is willing to ſpeak the
' Truth, and to comfort ſome that hear him, yet not having
' obtain'd the Word of God *in Power and Truth within him*;
' but only recollecting and borrowing Sentences from every
' Part of Scripture, or what he has heard from ſpiritual
' Perſons, and relating, and teaching them, Lo, he ſeems
' indeed to make others glad, and they certainly enjoy the
' Benefit of what he delivers: But when he has done repeat-
' ing, every Word returns back to its proper Home, whence
' it was taken; and the Man himſelf remains naked and
' poor as afore: Having no Treafure of the Spirit he can
' call his own, whence to take, and profit, and revive, not
' being firſt reviv'd himſelf, nor rejoicing in Spirit.

' For which Reaſon ought we firſt to beg of God with
' Earneſtneſs of Heart and with Faith, that he would grant Luke 22.44.
' unto us that we may find his Riches, the true Treafure of
' Chriſt in our Hearts, in the Power and Efficacy of the Spi-
' rit. And thus having found firſt within our ſelves the Be-
' nefit of it, Salvation and Eternal Life, the Lord himſelf,
' we ſhall then profit others alſo, as we are able to have Ac- Luke 22.32.
' ceſs to them: Producing from that Treafure of Chriſt
' within us, all the Goodneſs of ſpiritual Diſcourſes, and
' declaring heavenly Myſteries. For ſo it pleas'd the good Mat. 12.35.
' Will of the Father, that he ſhould dwell with every one
' that believeth, and is deſirous of him. *For he that loveth*
' *me, ſays Chriſt, ſhall be lov'd of my Father, and I will love* Joh. 14.21.
' *him, and will manifeſt my ſelf to him.* And again, *We will*
' *come unto him, I and my Father, and make our Abode with*
' *him.*—For they that have been thought worthy to become John 1.12.
' the Sons of God, and to be *born of the Spirit from Above,* —3. 3, 5.
' and have Chriſt within *enlightning and refreshing* them, are 2 Cor. 4.6.
' led by the Spirit after various and divers Manners, and Mat. 10.28.
' are actuated by Grace inviſibly in the Heart; and that
' too is attended with ſpiritual Reſt.

perstitious Worship of his native Country, and came and resided in *England*, where he publish'd a Book entitl'd *Stratagematum Satanae*. * The Stratagems of Satan, in detaining Men from the true Way of Worship, &c. This Book, written in Elegant Latin, he dedicated to *Queen Elizabeth*, of whose Bounty and Benevolence to him, he makes honourable Mention. On these Words of the Apostle, † *Wherefore Brethren, Labour that ye may Prophesie, and forbid not to speak with Tongues, let all Things be done decently and in Order*, he says, ' It is exceedingly to be lamented, ' that this Custom, and the Practice of this Command of the Lord, is not again restor'd into ' the Churches, and brought into Use. — Now ' besides the Glory of God, great Profit does accrue hereby to the Church. For if the People ' shall see now one Man, now another, endued ' with the Spirit beyond all Expectation, *many* will ' be encouraged to hope for the same Gift if they ' shall ask it; *many* will be excited to the Reading the Holy Scriptures; *many* will learn and ' profit; and it will thereby come to pass, that ' when Occasion shall be to choose a Minister, ' the Church shall not need to call strange and ' unknown Persons to that Office, but she may ' have of her own, such as are fit to be chosen; ' Men whose Conversation and Manners are sufficiently

* This Book was Reprinted at Oxford in the Year 1650, with this Title, *Stratagematum Satanae Libri octo*. Quos Jacobus Acontius Vir summi judicii, nec minoris pietatis, annis abhinc pene 70. primum edidit, & Serenissimæ Reginae Elizabethæ inscripsit.

† *Proinde Fratres ad id enitami, ut prophetetis, & loqui linguis ne vetueritis, omnia decenter & ordine fiant.* Hanc consuetudinem, hujusque Dominici præcepti usum, non restitui in Ecclesiis magnopere dolendum est. Liber quartus, p. 204.

‘ ficiently known. And when the Number of
 ‘ such as are able to *propheſie*, ſhall be great, the
 ‘ Church will not be forced to uſe ſuch *Paſtors* as
 ‘ from their very Childhood have propos’d to
 ‘ themſelves ſuch Office as the Reward of their
 ‘ Studies; and addiſted themſelves to the Study
 ‘ of Scripture and Religion, no otherwiſe than
 ‘ they would have done to ſome Trade, whereby
 ‘ they meant in Time to get their Living: So
 ‘ that a Man can expect but very few of them to
 ‘ prove other than Mercenary or Hireling Paſtors.

‘ Now, that it was the Cuſtom of the *Jewiſh*
 ‘ Church, that all might thus *Propheſie*, we may
 ‘ hence Conjecture, in that it is upon Record,
 ‘ *Luke iv.* How our Lord *upon the Sabbath Day*,
 ‘ *according to the Cuſtom, came into the Synagogue*,
 ‘ *took a Book and expounded a Place of Iſaiah*, and,
 ‘ how being twelve Years of Age, he ſate at *Je-*
 ‘ *ruſalem* in the Temple among the Doctours and
 ‘ did diſpute. For he could not ſo do by Virtue
 ‘ of any ordinary Office; forasmuch as his Age
 ‘ was incapable, neither did the Doctours know
 ‘ who he was. Yea, rather, our Lord in ſo do-
 ‘ ing muſt needs make Uſe of the Power which
 ‘ was granted to every one to ſpeak. It remained
 ‘ in the Churches of Chriſtians until the Time of
 ‘ *Conſtantine* at leaſt, for *Eufebius*, in the ninth
 ‘ Book of his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, has theſe
 ‘ Words concerning it. If any Man inspir’d by
 ‘ the Grace of God ſhould preach unto the Peo-
 ‘ ple, they all with *great Silence*, fixing their Eyes
 ‘ upon him, liſten to him as if he was about to re-
 ‘ late ſomething brought from Heaven. So great
 ‘ was the Reverence of the Auditory, ſuch Or-
 ‘ der was ſeen among the Miniſters, now one,
 ‘ then another ſpoke, and not only two or three,
 ‘ as the Apoſtle ſays, but any to whomſoever
 ‘ was

' was given what they might speak ; so that the
 ' Wish of *Moses* seems rather to have been ful-
 ' fill'd in them, when he said, *Would God all the*
 ' *Lord's People were Prophets*. There was no
 ' Spleen, no Envy ; the Gifts of God were dis-
 ' pensed : Every one, as 'tis written, labouring
 ' for the Confirmation of the Church that it
 ' might abound : And all these Things were
 ' done with such Love, that they strove mutually
 ' to honour one another, and every one to prefer
 ' another before himself.—Therefore that which
 ' remains is, that we wrestle with God, by daily
 ' Prayers, that he might grant us the Use of this
 ' saving Liberty, and that abundance of Fruit
 ' may be reap'd from it.

WHETHER the Gifts of the Spirit, and that ge-
 neral Liberty of *Prophecy*ing this Author speaks
 of, and so earnestly wish'd to see the Restoration
 of, did continue till *Constantine's* Time is not so
 easily determin'd, tho' the Learned *Henry Dodwel*
 seems to be of that Opinion, for in his *Dissertations*
 on *Irenæus* he says, '* We have prov'd that the
 ' extraordinary Gifts of the Spirit of *Prophecy*,
 ' were

* *Dodwel. Dissertationes in Irenæum p. 96.* ' Aliis itaque
 ' quæ Apostolis data esse extraordinaria Spiritus Prophetici
 ' Dona, jam alibi probavimus, nec in primo modo aut secundo
 ' Seculo, verum etiam in tertio, usque ad Tempora Constanti-
 ' ni. Habebant quidem Dona illa omnes omnium Ordinum Homi-
 ' nes, etiam Mulieres ; verum illi præcipue quipræcipuo aliquo
 ' in Ecclesia loco eminebant. Quod certe adeo erat verum, ut in
 ' extraordinario Ecclesiæ regimine, gradum in Ecclesia assignavit
 ' gradus ipse Donorum. Ita qui gradu Spiritus omnium supre-
 ' mo Apostolico fuisset præditus, eum pro Apostolo habebant ;
 ' qui secundo, eum pro Propheta ; qui dono *Didachæ*, eum pro
 ' Doctore, qui dono *κοινωνίας*, eum pro Pastore ; & sic in
 ' reliquis. Sic nimirum Deus ipse, non Homines, Ecclesiæ im-
 ' mediate prospiciebat ; & Signum beneplaciti Divini erat,
 ' quem dixi gradus ille Donorum,

‘ were given to others besides the Apostles ; and
 ‘ that not only in the *First* and *Second*, but in the
 ‘ *Third* Century also, even to the Time of *Con-*
 ‘ *stantine*. Men of all Sorts and Ranks had these
 ‘ *Gifts*, yea and WOMEN too, but those especially
 ‘ who were most eminent in some chief Place of
 ‘ the Church. This was so true, that in † the ex-
 ‘ traordinary

† That which *Dodwel* calls the extraordinary Govern-
 ment, when God himself, and not Man, had the immediate
 Care of the Church, is the Government which ever, more
 or less, continues in *Christ's* Church, and, we believe, had
 continued flourishing in the Churches from *Constantine's*
 Time till now, if *Christians*, like the Israelites of old, had
 not rejected the Government of God by his Spirit in the
 Prophets, and such as he was pleas'd from Time to Time
 to raise up as Judges, and chose *Man* to rule over them ;
 for which they met with this severe Reproach from God by
 the Mouth of the Prophet *Samuel*, *Hearken unto the Voice of*
the People in all that they say unto thee, for they have not rejected
thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.
 See *Irenæus*,
Book 3. ch. 40
 1 Sam. 8. 7.

When we read what Contentions and Strivings there were
 in the early Days of the Church, for Preheminence and
 Rule, by such indeed as *Lorded it over the Heritage of God*,
 we do not wonder that God withdrew the Gifts of his Holy
 Spirit from the Churches : For since they were for setting
 up *Man* in the Place of God, it was but just in Him to with-
 hold his Gifts from such as depended no longer on his *Spirit*,
 but on *Man's* Teaching.

The Epistles of *Ignatius*, both small and great, are a fla-
 grant Proof of the Power and Authority which the then Bi-
 shops or *Overseers* of the Flock of *Christ* were for assuming to
 themselves. But the Stile of those Epistles is so very different
 from the Stile of the Apostles, that we are inclined to think,
 as some others have done, that they are not the genuine Epi-
 stles of *Ignatius*, but the Composition of a later Hand, with
 some Fragments only of his. In the Apostolical Epistles, the
 Churches are call'd upon to obey God, Jesus *Christ* and the
 Holy Spirit, and the Apostles call'd for no Obedience to them-
 selves : All that *Paul*, that great Apostle, requir'd of a certain
 Church, was only that they would be Followers of Him as
 he follow'd *Christ* : But these *Ignatian* Epistles have a more
 swelling
 1 Cor. II. 1.

‘ extraordinary Government of the Church, the
 ‘ Degree of the Gift always assign’d the Degree
 ‘ in the Church. Therefore he who was possess’d
 ‘ of the highest Gift of the Spirit, which was
 ‘ call’d the Apostolical Degree, was look’d upon
 ‘ as an *Apostle*, he who had the Second, which
 ‘ was call’d the Prophetical Degree, was esteem’d
 ‘ a *Prophet*; he who had the Gift of Instruction,
 ‘ was call’d a *Teacher*; he who had the Gift of
 ‘ Discipline, a *Pastor*, and so in the rest. So
 ‘ that it was *God himself, and not Men who had the*
 ‘ *immediate Care of the Church*, and ’twas a Token
 ‘ of Divine Favour, when any one had any De-
 ‘ gree of these Gifts I have mention’d.

WHAT this Learned Author has observ’d concerning the Government of the Church, and the Gifts of the Spirit to Men of all Sorts and Ranks, and *Women* also, is very much confirm’d by the following Passages still remaining in the Writings of the Ancients.

EUSEBIUS Lib. iii. ch. 37. Speaking of those *Preachers* of the Gospel, who were eminent about the Beginning of the second Century, says, ‘ Among
 ‘ those who were *Illustrious* in those Times, *Qua-*
 ‘ *dratus* was one, who (as ’tis reported) flourish’d
 ‘ at the same Time with the *Daughters* of *Philip*
 ‘ in

Epist. to Po-
 licarp.

Epist. to the
 Trallians.

swelling Stile. ‘ *Hearken* unto the Bishop, that God also
 ‘ may hearken unto you. *My Soul be Security for them that*
 ‘ *submit to their Bishop with their Presbyters and Deacons.*
 ‘ *Let all reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ, and the Bishop*
 ‘ *as the Father, and the Presbyters as the Sanhedrim of God,*
 ‘ *and College of the Apostles.* What deplorable Consequen-
 ces ensued this assuming Language in the Churches of Christ
 is too notorious to need our Repeating; for many Ages past,
 both in the Greek and Latin Churches, the poor People in
 some Places have hardly dar’d to say their Souls were their
 own.

in the Gift of *Prophecy*. Many others also besides these were famous at that Time, having obtain'd the first Place among the Successors of the Apostles, who, because they were the eminent Disciples of such Men, built up those Churches, the Foundations whereof were every where laid by the Apostles; promoting greatly the Doctrine of the Gospel, and scattering the salutary Seed of the Kingdom of Heaven at large over the World. For the *Divine Spirit* as yet wrought many wonderful Works by them, insomuch that at the first hearing, innumerable Multitudes of Men did with most ready Minds altogether admit of, and engage themselves in, the Worship of that God who is the Maker of all Things.

JUSTIN MARTYR, who liv'd about the Middle of the second Century, or a few Years after, says, in his Discourse with *Trypho* the Jew, upon citing these Words of *Joel*, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesie*, Joel 2.28. 'Now this, says Justin, is to be seen amongst us, for *Women* and Men have the Gift of *Prophecy*. *

And *Irenæus*, who liv'd till near the End of the second Century, says, '† 'Tis not possible to
U ' reckon

* Apud nos videre est & *Fœminas* & *Masculos*, dona à Spiritu Dei habentes. καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἰδῆς καὶ θηλείας, καὶ ἀρσένους, χάρισματά ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχοντες. Justin Martyris cum Tryphone Dialogus. p. 266. Editio. Londini in Octavo.

* Non est numerum dicere gratiarum, quas per univ-
 um mundum Ecclesia à Deo accipiens, in nomine Christi
 Jesu, crucifixi sub Pontio Pilato, per singulos dies in opitu-
 lationem gentium perficit, neque seducens aliquem, nec pe-
 cuniam ei auferens. Quemadmodum enim gratis accepit à
 Deo, gratis & Ministret. Irenæi Liber 2. Cap. 57. Oxo-
 niæ Edit. p. 189.

' reckon up the Number of the Gifts which the
 ' Church all the World over has received, and
 ' does exert even every Day in the Name of Je-
 ' sus Christ crucified under *Pontius Pilate*, neither
 ' seducing any one, nor taking from him Money,
 ' for he that has receiv'd it freely from *GOD*, does
 ' minister the Gift *Gratis* unto others.

THESE are Monuments and lasting Testi-
 monies to the Freedom and Liberty, which the
 People call'd *Quakers* say, is inseparable from the
 Churches of Christ; namely, a free Exercise of the
 Gifts of the Holy Spirit, whether in Man or Wo-
 man; and this last of *Irenæus*, that Noble and
 Worthy Martyr of *Lions*, is a strong and irrefra-
 gable Testimony against *Hireling Ministers*, or
 such as preach for Money.

MAY all who are in a Practice so opposite to
 the Command of Christ, who said to his Disciples,
Freely ye have received, Freely give, duly consider
 and compare their Practice with that of the Pri-
 mitive Christians, and let them read what the A-
 postle *Paul* said to the Elders of the Church at
Ephesus, when he was taking his last and solemn
 Leave of them. *Ye know from the first Day that I*
came into Asia, after what Manner I have been
with you at all Seasons, serving the Lord with all
Humility of Mind, and with many Tears and Temp-
tations which beset me by the lying in Wait of the
Jews. And how I kept back nothing that was profi-
table unto you, but have shewed you, and have
taught you publickly, and from House to House. Testi-
fying both to the Jews, and also to the Greeks, Re-
pentance towards God, and Faith toward our Lord
Jesus Christ. And now behold I go bound in the Spi-
rit unto Jerusalem, not knowing the Things that shall
beset me there; save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth
in every City, saying, that Bonds and Afflictions a-
bide

Acts 20:
 18—35.

bide me. But none of these Things move me, neither count I my Life dear unto my self, so that I might finish my Course with Joy, and the Ministry, which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the Grace of God. And now behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the Kingdom of God, shall see my Face no more. Wherefore I take you to Record this Day, that I am pure from the Blood of all Men. For I have not shunned to declare unto you all the Counsel of God. Take Heed therefore unto your selves, and to all the Flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you Overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own Blood: For I know this, that after my Departing shall grievous Wolves enter in among you, not sparing the Flock. Also of your own selves shall Men arise, speaking perverse Things, to draw away Disciples after them. Therefore watch, and remember that by the Space of three Years, I ceased not to warn every one Night and Day with Tears. And now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the Word of his Grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an Inheritance among all them which are sanctified. I have coveted no Man's Silver, or Gold, or Apparel. Yea, you your selves know, that these Hands have ministered unto my Necessities, and to them that were with me. I have shewed you all Things, how that so labouring ye ought to support the Weak; and to remember the Words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

THIS awful Charge, deliver'd as the last and dying Words of the Apostle to the Elders at Ephesus, but equally belonging to, and affecting the Ministers of the Gospel in every Age of the Church, ought to be weighed and greatly ponder'd by all such as desire the Prosperity of the Church

Church of Christ, and the Exaltation of his Kingdom and Government in the World, which is the Prevalence of the *Holy Ghost* in the Hearts of Men. Under a Sense of the great Want and Necessity of this, we believe, the pious Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, writ the following weighty Expressions in his *Prayer* for the Peace of the Church.

‘ O LORD JESUS, let thy *Spirit* stretch out it
 ‘ self upon these Waters of evil wavering Opinions.
 ‘ And because *Thy Spirit*, which, according to
 ‘ Thy Prophet’s Saying, *containeth all Things*,
 ‘ hath also the Science of *Speaking*; make that
 ‘ like as unto all them which be of *Thy House*;
 ‘ is One *Light*, One *Baptism*, One *God*, One *Hope*,
 ‘ One *Spirit*, so they may also have One Voice,
 ‘ One Note, One Song, professing One Catholick
 ‘ TRUTH. When Thou didst mount up to Hea-
 ‘ ven Triumphantly, thou threwest out from a-
 ‘ bove Thy precious Things; Thou gavest *Gifts*
 ‘ amongst Men, Thou dealtest sundry Rewards of
 ‘ *Thy Spirit*. RENEW again from *Above* Thy old
 ‘ *Bountifulness*; Give *that Thing* to Thy Church,
 ‘ now Fainting and growing Downward, that
 ‘ Thou gavest unto Her shooting up, at Her first
 ‘ Beginning. — Give to the *Bishops* the Gift of
 ‘ *Prophecy*, that they may DECLARE and *interpret*
 ‘ Holy Scripture, not of their own Brain, but of
 ‘ *Thine Inspiring*.

The Testimony of JESUS is the Spirit of
 PROPHECY, *Rev. xix. 20.*

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